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TILLOTSON,

Arch Bishop of Canterbury

THE

WORKS

OF

DR. JOHN TILLOTSON,

LATE

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

THO^{s}. BIRCH, M.A.

ALSO,

A COPIOUS INDEX, AND THE TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE CAREFULLY COMPARED.

IN TEN VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

DR. JOHN TILLOTSON, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended of a family anciently of the name of Tilston, of Tilston, in Cheshire, the ancestor of which was Nicolas de Tilston, lord of the manor of Tilston, from whom descended Nicolas de Tilston, in the ninth year of King Edward III. whose grandson and heir, Roger Tilston, Esq. in the reign of Henry V. married Catharine, second daughter of Sir John Leigh, of Baguly, in Cheshire, knt. His son and heir, Thomas Tilston, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hugh Heath, of Huxley, in the same county, as Richard, the second son of this Thomas, did Maud, daughter of Richard Bostock, by whom he had several sons; of whom the third, Ralph, of Newport, in Shropshire, married Elizabeth, second daughter of William Leighton, second son of Sir Thomas Leighton, of Watlesborough, in the same county, knt. The third son of this Ralph was Thomas, of Wookliff, in the parish of Carlton, in Craven, in the county of York, who changed his name from Tilston to Tillotson. His son, George Tillotson, had by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Ellis Nutter, of Pendle Forest, in Lancashire, a son and heir, Robert, the father of the Archbishop,* who was the eldest of three sons, Joshua and Israel being the younger; and was born of parents more distinguished by their integrity and piety, than their rank and fortune.† His father, Mr. Robert Tillotson, was a considerable clothier of Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in the county of York, and remarkable for a good understanding, and an uncommon knowledge of the Scriptures; but so zealously attached to the system of Calvin, which was almost universally re-

* From the genealogy of the family of Tilston, or Tillotson, drawn up in the year 1682, compared with one in the office of heralds, and communicated to me by the Rev. Joshua Tillotson, M. A. the worthy and learned surmaster of St. Paul's school, London, and great nephew of the Archbishop, being grandson of his brother Israel.

† Prayers before his Consecration.

ceived in that age, that his prejudices in favour of it were scarce to be moderated by all the reasonings of his son, whom he lived to see dean of Canterbury, being, as appears from a letter of the Dean,* alive in May, 1679. His mother was Mary, the daughter of Thomas Dobson, of the same place, gentleman,† a woman of excellent character, but unhappy for many years of her life in the loss of her understanding.‡ He was born at a house called Haugh End, in Sowerby, in the latter end of September, or beginning of October, 1630, and baptized there on the 3d of October; one of his godfathers being Mr. Joshua Witton, a native of Sowerby, afterwards rector of Thornhill, in the same county, from which he was ejected in 1662, for nonconformity.§ His enemies, indeed, in the reign of Charles II. raised a story, revived after his promotion to the see of Canterbury, alluded to by himself in a letter to Lady Russel, in 1693, and said by Dr. Hickes‖ to have taken its rise from his father's very early turning anabaptist, that he was never baptized at all. And Dr. Peter Birch, prebendary of Westminster, who, though himself educated in the presbyterian principles,¶ affected to distinguish himself by his zeal for the church, is supposed to have meant our prelate, in his sermon before the House of Commons, on the 30th of January, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, where** he complained of "fathers of the church, who never were her sons." But his baptism, on the day above-mentioned, is incontestably proved by the parish register, the certificate of which was attested by Mr. Joseph Wilkinson, vicar of Halifax; and J. Gaukroger, clerk of that parish.

His father, out of a small estate, gave him so liberal an education, as became the foundation of that eminence of character and

* Directed to his cousin, Mr. Timothy Bentley, of Sowerby Dean, and communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Tillotson.

† Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 4. Edit. London, 1717, fol. This piece, of which there is also an edition in 8vo. is pretended, in the title-page, to have been "compiled from the Minutes of the Rev. Mr. Young, late Dean of Salisbury, by F. H. *M.A.* with many curious Memoirs, communicated by the late Right Rev. Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum." Bishop Kennet, in the third volume of the Complete History of England, p. 673, note (*b*), second edition, observes, that "some persons had reason to believe, that Bishop Burnet and Dean Young had little or no hand in that Life:" and both the performance itself, and the name of the bookseller, E. Curll, will confirm that suspicion. ‡ Prayers, *ubi supra.*

§ Dr. Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 795, 2d edit. 1713; and Continuation, p. 942.

‖ Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 62. Edit. London, 1695, in 4to.

¶ Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1060, 2d edit. ** Page 20.

station, which he afterwards attained, and enabled him to return to his parents, and their children, the kindness which he had received from him, and to shew himself a father to them.*

After he had, with a quick proficiency, passed through the grammar schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1647, at the age of seventeen, and admitted pensioner of Clare Hall on the 23d of April, that year, and into the matricula of that university on the 1st of July following. But in his fourth year there, the course of his studies received a considerable interruption, and his life was in imminent danger from a severe sickness, followed by an uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, under which he laboured till he was gradually relieved from it at his father's house, at Sowerby, whither he had retired from the university for the re-establishment of his health.† He commenced bachelor of arts at Midsummer, 1650, and master of arts in 1654, having been chosen fellow of his college about the 27th of November, 1651. His tutor, in whose fellowship he succeeded, was Mr. David Clarkson, B. D. eminent for his writings, particularly one intitled, No Evidence of Diocesan Episcopacy in the Primitive Times, printed in 1681, in 4to. in answer to Dr. Stillingfleet; and another, on the same subject, printed two years after his death, which happened on the 14th of June, 1686,‡ under the title of Primitive Episcopacy, answered by Dr. Henry Maurice, in 1691, in his Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy. Mr. Clarkson was, according to Mr. Baxter,§ "a divine of extraordinary worth for solid judgment, healing, moderate principles, acquaintance with the Fathers, great ministerial abilities, and a godly, upright life." But his attachment to the principles of the nonconformists deprived him of the living of Mortlake, in Surry, in August, 1662. However, his excellent pupil always preserved that singular respect for him, which he had contracted while he was under his tuition;‖ as he did his early friendship for two other eminent nonconformist ministers, Mr. Francis Holdcraft, who had

* Prayers, *ubi supra*.

† This was probably that "great and dangerous sickness," mentioned in his Prayers before his Consecration. The abovementioned account of it, and of some remarkable circumstances attending his delirium, was transmitted to me in a letter from the Rev. and learned Mr. Francis Blackburne, archdeacon of Cleveland, and rector of Richmond, in Yorkshire, who had received it from the late Rev. Mr. Robert Denton, son of John Denton, the Archbishop's chamber-fellow at Clare Hall.

‡ A short Character of that excellent Divine, Mr. David Clarkson, printed without the name of place or year.

§ Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part iii. p. 97. ‖ Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 667.

been his chamber-fellow at Clare Hall,* and Mr. Thomas Sharp, cousin of the Archbishop of that name, who had been his pupil, and was nephew of Mr. Clarkson, his own tutor.†

Thus his first education and impressions were among those, who were then called Puritans, but of the best sort. And yet, even before his mind was opened to clear thoughts, he felt somewhat within him, that disposed him to larger notions, and a better temper. The books which were put into the hands of the youth at that time being generally heavy, he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things. But he soon met with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth,‡ a writer whom he styles § "incomparable, and the glory of his age and nation," though stigmatized, as he observes, with the character of a Socinian, for no "other cause, but his worthy and successful attempts to make the Christian religion reasonable, and to discover those firm and solid foundations, upon which our faith is built." This admirable book gave his mind the ply, that he held ever after, and put him upon a true scent. He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or rather he was never mastered by them. Yet he still adhered to that strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and, by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, brought over more serious persons from their scruples to the communion of the church of England, and fixed more in it, than any man perhaps of that time. But he neither treated them with contempt or hatred; and he disliked all levities and railings upon those subjects. This gave him great advantages in dealing with them, and he still persisted in it, how much soever he was either disliked or suspected by angry men.

As he got into a new method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. There was then a set of as extraordinary persons in the university, where he was formed, as perhaps any age has produced; Dr. Ralph Cudworth, master of Christ's College; Dr. Benjamin Whichcot, provost of King's; Dr. Henry More, and Dr. George Rust, fellows of Christ's, and the latter afterwards Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland; Dr. John Worthington,

* Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 86. † Ibid. p. 813.

‡ A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, p. 10, 11. Edit. London, 1694, in 4to.

§ Sermon on Heb. xi. 6. intitled, The Efficacy, Usefulness, and Reasonableness of Divine Faith.

master of Jesus; and Mr. John Smith, fellow of Queen's College, author of the Select Discourses, less known at present than the sense and profound learning shewn in them deserve. These eminent men were equally admirable for the clearness and comprehension of their thoughts, the extent of their knowledge, and the excellence of their tempers. But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. He went into all the best things that were in that great man; but so, that he perfected every one of them. For though Bishop Wilkins had more general knowledge, yet Dr. Tillotson was the greater divine; and if the former had more flame, the latter was more correct. Both acted with great plainness, and were raised above regarding vulgar censure. And as Bishop Wilkins, had a talent so peculiar to himself, that perhaps never any man could admonish and reprove with such weight and authority, and in a way so obliging, as he did; so no man knew better than this his great friend the art of gaining upon mens' hearts, and of making themselves find out that which might be amiss in them, though the gentleness and modesty of his temper had not so well fitted him for the rough work of reproving.*

After his admission into a fellowship in his college, besides the pupils transferred to him by his own tutor, Mr. Clarkson, he had several others entered under him the same year; the first of whom was Mr. John Beardmore, whose Memorials of him, inserted in the Appendix, gave a just picture of his admirable temper, unaffected piety, well-directed studies, and exemplary care of those under his tuition; and, though drawn up only for the writer's private review of a character, which he reverenced and admired, serve in general to confirm the highest ideas which the world has hitherto formed of it. But inoffensive as his behaviour was during his residence in the university, in times of violence, and irreconcileable opposition both of political and religious sentiments, it has been particularly attacked by Dr. George Hickes, in a pamphlet full of such virulence against our great prelate's memory, as does no honour to the writer's own, and deserves to be treated with more severity of expression, than I should choose to use concerning a man, to whose learning, especially in the northern languages and antiquities, the world is highly obliged. In this piece,† among other unauthorized and improbable invectives, having represented Mr. Tillotson as seasoned with the principles of resistance and rebellion,

* Funeral Sermon, p. 11, 12.

† Some Discourses, &c. p. 62.

when he was first entered at Cambridge, he affirms, that not long after his coming thither, when King Charles I. was brought by that town to Hampton Court, and lodged near it, at Sir John Cutts' house at Childerley, and the scholars went thither to kiss his Majesty's hands, Mr. Tillotson, and some few more, had so signalized themselves on the side of those who were then called Roundheads, that they were not admitted to that honour with the rest of the scholars. Dr. Hickes adds, that within two years after, Mr. Tillotson went out Midsummer bachelor of arts, by which, having locally qualified himself for a fellowship, "he got the Rump's mandamus for Dr. Gunning (which, I think, says Dr. Hickes, one of his own gang enjoyed a little before him), as a reward for his good affection to the cause." That from that time, to his leaving the college, he governed it, the senior fellows not daring to oppose him, because of the interest which he had with his great masters; and that he was so zealous for them, that the corner of the college, which he and his pupils took up in the new building, was called the Roundhead Corner. And that when King Charles II. was defeated at Worcester, he sent for the tables, in which the college grace was written, and after the passage of thanksgiving for their benefactors, *Te laudamus pro benefactoribus nostris*, &c. he added with his own hand, and of his own head, *præsertim pro nupera victoriâ contra* Carolum Stuartum *in agro Wigorniensi reportatâ*, or to that effect.

The grounds of these charges being examined by the members of that college, immediately after the publication of the libel, they were found to be absolutely false;* and the following remarks will be sufficient to destroy their credit. Mr. Tillotson was not entered of the college till April 23, 1647; and therefore it is not at all surprising, if so young a student was not admitted to the honour of kissing the King's hand, when his Majesty was in that neighbourhood, in the beginning of June following.† He took the degree of bachelor of arts at Midsummer, 1650, and became a fellow of the college November 27, the year following:‡ whereas Mr. Gunning was ejected from his fellowship six years before, by warrant from the Earl of Manchester, and succeeded in it by Mr. Clarkson, May 5,

* Bishop Burnet's Reflections upon a Pamphlet intitled, Some Discourses, &c. p. 164, 165, 166. edit. London, 1696.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 252. 2d edit. Bishop Burnet says, by mistake, "two months after Mr. Tillotson's admission."

‡ Bishop Burnet says, erroneously, "before Christmas that year," viz. 1650.

1645;* so that it cannot, with any propriety, be said, that Mr. Tillotson came into Mr. Gunning's fellowship. For though men, as Bishop Burnet observes,† may consider the avoidance, that immediately precede their own admission, yet none are so scrupulous as to pursue the inquiry farther.

With respect to the assuming the liberty of altering the college grace after meat, and adding a special mention of the battle of Worcester, there was not the least memory of any such incident in the college in the year 1696, when the inquiry was made. And it is highly improbable, that the junior fellow, and so young a bachelor of arts, could have presumed to have done such a thing; or that the master and senior fellows would have suffered it. Dr. Blythe, master of the college, and Dr. Vincent, senior fellow, when Bishop Burnet wrote his Reflections on Dr. Hickes's Discourses, had been admitted of Clare Hall soon after the date of that story: but neither of them ever heard of any thing of that nature; which is scarce possible, if the story had been true, considering the genius of such societies, where the memory of incidents of that kind is not easily lost. And it is further remarkable, that there was not the least mention of it in the year 1660, when, as is usual in the revolutions of public affairs, all such stories were industriously remembered and propagated, and made use of, to fix the characters of men. On the other hand, Mr. Tillotson was, as long as Dr. Blythe and Dr. Vincent could remember him, the same modest and good-natured man, that he was known to be in a higher elevation. To this vindication of his behaviour, while he was resident in the university, may be added the substance of a letter from Mr. Denton, of Clare Hall,‡ to one of his friends, who

* Le Neve, *ubi supra*, p. 222. † Reflections, p. 165.

‡ John Denton was admitted sizer and pupil to Mr. David Clarkson on the 4th of May, 1646, as appears from the register of the college. He was ejected by the act of Uniformity, in 1662, from the living of Oswaldkirk, near Helmsley, in Yorkshire, where Archbishop Tillotson preached his first sermon, and not from that of Bolton, as Dr. Calamy affirms in his Account, p. 818, who has rectified his mistake in his 4th volume, p. 950; though, as it seems, without knowing that it was a mistake, it being indeed Mr. Nathan, and not Mr. John Denton, who was ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearn, or more properly Darwent. Mr. John Denton afterwards conformed, and being re-ordained by Dr. Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, was presented to the living of Stonegrave, within two miles of Oswaldkirk, and a prebend of the church of York, both which he held till his death on the 14th of January, 1708, in the 83d year of his age, as is evident from the inscription on his tomb-stone in the church of Stonegrave; in which he was succeeded by his son, Mr. Robert Denton, who was educated at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, and died about four years ago.

had applied to him for that purpose;* in which he remarks, that he had found out two persons, besides himself, who were in Clare Hall that summer, in which Worcester fight happened, viz. Sir Watkinson Payler, who was nobleman, and Mr. James Montaigne, who was fellow of the college; and, if there had been any such alteration made in the college grace, some of them, who daily heard it read, would have known it: whereas all three of them professed, that they never knew or heard of any such thing done, or attempted to be done, but believed it to be a malicious lie. Mr. Denton, who was in the college when King Charles I. passed by Cambridge, had forgotten, whether Mr. Tillotson went to Sir John Cutts' house amongst several others, who did; but was pretty confident, that the story of his being denied the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand was not true, having never heard of any such thing; which, if it had been fact, he should certainly have done, if not from Mr. Tillotson himself, yet from some others, several of Mr. Denton's acquaintance being there. With respect to the charge of Mr. Tillotson's governing the college, and the senior fellows not daring to oppose him, because of the interest which he had with his great masters; Mr. Denton declares this to be very malicious and false; for he was far from being of an imperious humour, and was remarkable for that sweetness of temper, which he ever after retained, and was highly respected by the senior fellows, who indeed, out of regard to the common understanding and prudence conspicuous in him, even in those early years, always consulted him about the affairs of the college. And Mr. Montaigne, who was one of them, and had been as strongly attached as any person to the interest of King Charles I. having been several years in his army, always retained a very great honour for Mr. Tillotson, and never mentioned him but in terms of high respect; and, after the publication of Dr. Hickes's Some Discourses, wrote a letter to a friend in vindication of Mr. Tillotson from the imputations cast upon him in that libel, with regard to his conduct in Clare Hall. This letter† having

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Mr. John Denton having contracted a most intimate friendship with Mr. Tillotson at Clare Hall, where he was particularly serviceable to him during a great and dangerous sickness, attended for some time after with a very uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, they kept up a constant correspondence during his Grace's life.

* Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 6, 7; and Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Whiston, written by Himself, part i. p. 27, 28, 29.

† Communicated to me from the papers of Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, by his son, the Honourable Sir Thomas Burnet, knt. one of his Majesty's justices of the Common-pleas.

never yet, to my knowledge, appeared in print, will be proper to be inserted at length.

"SIR,

"I do very well remember King Charles the First's being brought by Cambridge to Hampton Court, and his lodging at Sir John Cutts's house; but never heard of Tillotson's (to give him the name we then called him by) either going thither, or being refused to kiss the King's hand.

"I am thoroughly persuaded he was made fellow by election of the master and fellows, and not by *mandamus*; for having been in the King's army five years, and returning to Clare Hall in 1647, I do not remember that any *mandamus* was sent to the college after that time.

"I never heard, that the corner, where his chamber was, was called the Roundheads Corner; and he could not fill that corner with himself and pupils; for three or four fellows besides himself had their chambers there.

"And what the pamphlet adds of his sending, after King Charles II. was beaten at Worcester, for the tables, in which the college grace was written, and after the passage of thanksgiving for their benefactors adding with his own hand, and of his own head, *præsertim pro nuperâ victoriâ contra* Carolum Stuartum, *&c.* it is all of it a most false and impudent lie, reflecting not only upon the person, whom he would scandalize, but upon the whole college.

"And of the same nature is what the libeller saith of his governing the college, and overawing the senior fellows by the interest he had with his great masters: and I am much concerned (as the rest of the senior fellows would have been, if they were living) to assert the horrid falsity of it. I think I am the only surviving of the then senior fellows; and I can truly say he was as respective and obliging to all the senior fellows, as possibly could be, and was very much respected by them. For my own part, I always thought myself much obliged to him for his kind respects to me, both in the college, and since I left it.

"As to his being chaplain to Prideaux, and teaching of his son, I know nothing of it. But if we take it for granted, I know not how his teaching the young man his grammar should influence him into a rebellion, which happened twenty or thirty years after.

"And now, by what I have written, which I will maintain the

truth of, you may see what little reason the libeller had to say, that all he related was upon very good authority.

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"JAMES MONTAIGNE."

Mr. Tillotson left his college in 1656, or the beginning of 1657, according to Dr. Hickes,* who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, Esq. of Ford Abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great seal under the long parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. And Dr. Hickes, who omits no circumstance, that can even indirectly reflect upon Mr. Tillotson, adds, that his pupil was afterwards in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. But, not to repeat Mr. Montaigne's remark, that the conduct of Mr. Prideaux, at so great a distance of time, had no real connexion with his tutor's institution of him in the rudiments of learning; nor to insist upon the impropriety of such a reflection from Dr. Hickes, whose own brother, Mr. John Hickes, a nonconformist minister, was actually executed for that rebellion,† as Mrs. Alicia Lisle was for harbouring him; the charge upon that gentleman of being engaged in it was so far from being well-grounded, that this alone will be sufficient to invalidate the authority of that admired head of a party, in all points, in which the interests of it are the least concerned. For the case of Mr. Prideaux is one of the many instances of the arbitrary temper of that government, which forced the nation into the Revolution; and the true circumstances of that case appear in the Journal of the House of Commons.‡ He was seized and brought to London on the 19th of June, 1685, by a warrant from the Earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, dated the 13th, two days after the landing of the Duke of Monmouth at Lyme, and the same day, on which the account of it was brought to the court at Whitehall, without being admitted to an examination, which he desired. He continued in custody of a messenger till the 14th of July following, when he was discharged by habeas corpus, giving security of 10,000*l.* for his appearance the first day of the next term. Staying in London for that purpose, he was on the 14th of September again seized by a warrant of the Earl of Sunderland, and committed close

* Some Discourses, p. 63.

† General Dictionary, article of Dr. Hickes, vol. iv. p. 156.

‡ Vol. x. p. 113—116.

prisoner to the Tower for high treason. While he was in this situation a general inquiry was made by the agents of Lord Jeffryes, advanced to the post of lord high chancellor on the 28th of that month, amongst all the prisoners and condemned persons in the west, for an accusation against him; and threats and promises of life were employed to that end, that Lord frequently declaring his resolution to hang him. The dread of this induced Mr. Prideaux to make application to the king by several persons; but receiving no other answer than that his Majesty had given him to the Lord Chancellor, as a reward for his service in the west, he at last agreed with his Lordship for his pardon, after seven months rigorous confinement, upon the payment of 15,000*l.* These facts being proved to the House of Commons soon after the Revolution, a bill was ordered in on the first of May, 1689, to charge the manors of Dolby-in-the-Wolds, and Neather Broughton, in Leicestershire, the estate of that Lord, then deceased, with the repayment of the 15,000*l.* and interest, extorted by him from Mr. Prideaux.

While Mr. Tillotson resided in the elder Mr. Prideaux's family, he performed, as we are farther assured by Dr. Hickes,* the office of chaplain. And this is affirmed likewise by Mr. Henry Wharton, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, in his manuscript collections concerning the English archbishops and bishops reposited in the library at Lambeth;† though that learned writer is mistaken in giving Mr. Prideaux the title of Secretary to Cromwell. But how long Mr. Tillotson lived with Mr. Prideaux, or whether till that gentleman's decease on the 19th of August, 1659,‡ does not appear.

He was in London at the time of the death of the Protector Oliver, on the 3d of September, 1658, and about a week after was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace of Whitehall. For, happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went out of curiosity into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new Protector placed with the rest of his family, and on the other six preachers, among whom were Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ Church, in Oxford, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen College, Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous Commentary on Job, and rector of St. Magnus, in London, and Mr. Peter Sterry. The bold sallies of enthusiasm, which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion, were sufficient to disgust a man less disposed to it than he was both by temper and principles. God was in a man-

* Some Discourses, p. 85. † P. 81. ‡ Wood Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 233.

ner reproached with the deceased Protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure him in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Sterry, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, next to blasphemy—"Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."*

The time of Mr. Tillotson's entering into holy orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts, which I have not been able to determine: but the account is certainly false, which represents him,† as curate, some time before the Restoration, to Dr. Wilkins, in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry; since that divine was not admitted to that vicarage till near two years after the Restoration, on the 11th of April, 1662,‡ by the recommendation of his predecessor, Dr. Seth Ward,‖ then advanced to the bishopric of Exeter, and afterwards translated to that of Salisbury.

The first sermon of Mr. Tillotson, which appeared in print, was preached at the Morning Exercise, at Cripplegate, on Matth. vii. 12. The subject was,—Wherein lies that exact Righteousness, which is required between Man and Man. It is the tenth of those published by Dr. Samuel Annesley, at London, in 4to. that year, under the title of, The Morning Exercise at Cripplegate; or, several Cases of Conscience practically resolved by sundry Ministers,—September, 1661. The names of the several preachers were not mentioned in that edition; but, in the subsequent ones, particularly the fourth, in 1677, that of Mr. Tillotson appears among the rest. This sermon was never reprinted with his other writings, though it has been more than once published separately; but is now deservedly included in his works, as a discourse full of good sense, though inferior to his later performances in elegance of style, and exactness of composition.

At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the conference held at the Savoy for the review of the Liturgy, in July, 1661.§ But he immediately submitted to the

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 82, 83. † Life, p. 7.

‡ Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 658.

‖ Dr. Walter Pope's Life of Dr. Seth Ward, lord bishop of Salisbury, p. 52. Edit. London, 1697.

§ Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part ii. p. 337.

act of Uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day the year following.

Upon his dedicating himself to the service of the church, being sensible of the importance of a plain and edifying manner of preaching, he was very little disposed to follow the patterns then set him, or indeed those of former times. He formed therefore one to himself, which has been justly considered as the best model for all succeeding ages.*

The great improvements, which he made in this important branch of public instruction, whereby Christianity has made a provision for the spreading the principles of morality and religion, which had been forgot by the pagan legislators, and very insufficiently attempted by the philosophers of antiquity, will appear to those, who consider the state of the pulpit at the time when he entered upon the function of a preacher. The whole form of the discourses there was oppressed with an unnecessary mixture of various languages, affected wit, and puerile rhetoric; and the general sense of the text was totally neglected, while every single word of it was separately considered under all its possible meanings. The history of preaching in our own country and language, which cannot indeed be traced much higher than the Reformation, would shew, that from the beginning of the seventeenth century as false a taste had infected the pulpit, as had prevailed after the corruption of the Roman eloquence, from the time of Seneca till the lower empire; and the gravity and simplicity of style, which distinguished the writers of the preceding age, were almost entirely lost till after the Restoration, when our Author brought back both purity of language and force of reasoning. The reign of Henry VIII. produced two very learned divines, Dr. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Colet, dean of St. Paul's; the former of whom has a few sermons, and the latter one,† still extant, not contemptible for their style or argument. Those of Dr. Latimer, bishop of Worcester, are defective in dignity and elegance; his frank remonstrances to persons of the highest rank being delivered in expressions of peculiar levity, and intermixed with frequent stories unsuitable to the solemnity of the place and occasion. The Homilies, drawn up under King Edward VI. are to be considered as a condescension to the capacities of the common people. In the long reign of his sister Elizabeth appeared

* Funeral Sermon, p. 12, 13.

† The English translation of his sermon, before the Convocation in 1511, is supposed to have been done by himself.

importunate with him to preach, though he was not furnished with a sermon, he ventured into the pulpit, where he took for his text one of the plainest and fullest of matter which he could recollect. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;" upon which he has no less than five discourses in his works: and yet he soon found himself so much at a loss, that after about ten minutes spent with great pain to himself, and no great satisfaction to his audience, he came down with a resolution never to make the like attempt for the future. And it is observable, that the same kind of confusion happened to Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, who was equally remarkable for an excellent memory, and a clear and logical head, when, at the persuasion of his friend Dr. Hammond, he left his sermon with him, and endeavoured to repeat it to a village congregation.*

The first office in the church, in which we find him employed, after the Restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, in the years 1661 and 1662,† to Dr. Thomas Hacket, the vicar, who had been before dean of Cork in Ireland, and was in August, 1662, presented to the rectory of St. Christopher's, in London, in the room of Dr. John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester, which rectory he resigned in August, 1663, as he did Cheshunt, in October, 1672, upon being made bishop of Down and Connor.‡ Here Mr. Tillotson is said, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, to have prevailed with an old Oliverian soldier, who preached among the anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment.§

The short distance of Cheshunt from London allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there. Accordingly we find that his sermon on Eccles. xii. 1. On the Advantages of Early Piety, was preached at St. Lawrence Jewry, in 1662; on the 16th of December of which year he was elected minister of the adjoining parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is invested, upon the deprivation of Mr. Edmund Calamy by the act of Uniformity. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that living; which obliged them to proceed to a new choice of Mr. Richard Martin, on the 28th of January, 166$\frac{2}{3}$.¶

* Mr. Isaac Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, edit. London, 1678.

† Life, p. 7, 8. ‡ Newcount Repertorium, vol. i. p. 325. § Life, p. 7, 8.

¶ Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 843.

But he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June, 1663, to the rectory of Ketton, or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth 200l. a year, vacated by the ejection of Mr. Samuel Fairclough for nonconformity, who had the satisfaction of being succeeded by a person of such eminent abilities, candour, and moderation.*

However, his residence there was but short, being called to London by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, to be their preacher; and the choice of him is said to have taken its rise from the following incident. Mr. Atkins, one of the benchers of that inn, and afterwards lord-chief-baron of the Exchequer, being present at the Tuesday lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, on a day when Mr. Tillotson happened to supply the place of the stated lecturer, was so pleased with his sermon, that he went to him in the vestry, and offered him his interest for the place of preacher of Lincoln's Inn, which would be soon vacant. Mr. Tillotson was accordingly elected to that office on the 26th of November, 1663, upon the terms allowed his predecessor, of one hundred pounds, payable at the end of every term by equal portions; the first payment to begin at the end of the next term, and twenty-four pounds more for vacation commons; with commons for himself and his servant in term-time, and a chamber. And five of the masters of the bench were appointed to acquaint him with his election, and to inform him of the duty expected from him, that he should preach twice every Lord's day in term time, and next before and after term, and in reading time, and in every Lord's day in the vacation, and as other occasions should require; and administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, together with the chaplain of the house, every term and vacation; and reside constantly in the Society, without absenting himself thence, without the leave of the masters of the bench in council.†

His predecessors in this post had been generally men of the greatest eminence for learning; and among these were Mr. Thomas Gataker, afterwards rector of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, in Southwark, and Dr. John Donne, dean of St. Paul's, whose Pseudo Martyr, the most valuable of his prose writings, contains an unanswerable confutation of the papal supremacy, and whose poetical works shew a prodigious fund of genius, under the disguise of an affected and

* Le Neve, p. 223. Mr. Samuel Clarke's Lives of Eminent Men, p. 175. and Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 638.

† From the books of the Society of Lincoln's Inn.

obscure style, and a most inharmonious versification. But of Mr. Tillotson's immediate predecessor, Mr. Thomas Greenfield, educated in Pembroke College, in Oxford, where he took the degree of master of arts, on the 4th of December, 1641,* I find nothing extant, except a sermon preached before the House of Commons, on Wednesday, June 12th, 1661, appointed for a solemn humiliation upon the late abundance of rain, and the danger of famine and pestilence likely to ensue thereby; in which sermon he loudly complains of the neglect of the loyal party, as the sin, which had peculiarly brought down that judgment upon the nation; since there were, in his language, "strange and monstrous couples then marching together in England, loyalty and rags, loyalty and lice, loyalty and hunger, loyalty and a prison." But this whole discourse is written so much in the bad taste of the preceding times, that the Society of Lincoln's Inn were considerable gainers in the exchange of Mr. Greenfield for Mr. Tillotson.

The invitation to that Society was so agreeable to Mr. Tillotson, that he determined to settle himself entirely among them; and though in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year to his parish in Suffolk; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care, in point of residence, that he resigned that living, even when his income in London could scarce support him.† He was the more disposed to this from the strong prejudices of the people there, in favour of a religious system, too prevalent in that age, but directly opposite to that more rational one of real and genuine Christianity, upon which he had formed all his discourses to them; and, soon discovering how little his preaching was relished there, he communicated to his patron his intention of quitting them upon that account. Sir Thomas Barnadiston with great civility endeavoured to persuade him that he was mistaken in his suspicions; but his lady, more sincere, being desired to speak her mind, acknowledged, that neither herself, nor even Sir Thomas, however he might affect to disguise his sentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the rest of the parish, who universally complained that Jesus Christ had not been preached amongst them, since Mr. Tillotson had been settled in the parish. To this incident, which is very well attested, he seems clearly to allude in his sermon against Evil Speaking, preached near thirty years after, towards the close of which he has this passage: "I foresee what will be said, because I have heard it so often said in the like case,

* Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 2. † Funeral Sermon, p. 19.

that there is not one word of Jesus Christ in all this. No more is there in the text, (Titus iii. 2.) and yet I hope, that Jesus Christ is truly preached, whenever his will, and laws, and the duties enjoined by the christian religion, are inculcated upon us."

The reputation, which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's Inn, recommended him the year following to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth Viscountess Cambden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of the clergy, who came thither to form their minds.*

Soon after his settlement at Lincoln's Inn, he was invited to preach before the lord-mayor and court of aldermen at St. Paul's, which he did on Job xxviii. 28, in March, 166$\frac{3}{4}$; and on the 15th of that month he was desired by them to print his sermon; for which purpose it had the *imprimatur* of Dr. John Hall, chaplain to Dr. Humphrey Henchman, bishop of London, on the 13th of May, 1664, as containing "many things highly useful for supporting the main foundation of religion, and confuting the prodigious vanity of the atheists of that age." *Plurima, quæ ad præcipuum religionis fundamentum tutandum, et ad prodigiosam atheorum hujus seculi vanitatem redarguendam egregiè sunt accommodata.* It was accordingly published in 1664, in 4to. under the title of, The Wisdom of being Religious, with a dedication to the lord mayor, Sir Anthony Bateman, and the court of aldermen; which, not being reprinted in our Author's works, will be proper to be inserted here. "In obedience," says he, "to your order, I here present you with a sermon, which you formerly heard. I know not how acceptable discourses of this nature may be: I am sure they are very seasonable in this degenerate age, in which atheism and profaneness are grown so impudent, and, notwithstanding the restraints of shame and laws, do appear with so bold a face in the world. When men arrive to that degree of confidence, as to tell the world, that † the notion of a spirit implies a contradiction; that fear and fancy are the parents of a deity, and ignorance and melancholy the true causes of devotion; and that religion is nothing else ‡ "but the fear of invisible power feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed:" when it shall be counted brave to defy God, and every dabbler in natural philosophy, or mathematics, or politics, shall set up for an atheist; sure then it is high time to resist

* Funeral Sermon, p. 19, 20. † Leviathan, part iii. c. 34. ‡ Part i. c. 6.

this growing evil. To this purpose I have enlarged that part of the discourse, which is more immediately levelled against atheism, beyond what the limits of the time would allow me in the preaching of it; and in hope, that it may do some service to that end, it is now humbly offered to you." This sermon, in the original edition, contains no less than sixty-four pages in 4to. and it was afterward enlarged and improved by the Author in the manner in which it now appears in his works, and is, for the size of it, one of the most elegant, perspicuous, and convincing defences of religion in our own, or any other language.

He saw now with deep regret the fatal corruption of that age, in which the hypocrisies and extravagances of the times preceding the Restoration, concurring with the liberties and looseness of morals immediately following it, disposed many persons to impiety and atheism. This awakened his attention and zeal; and, having considered all the ancient and modern apologies for the Christian religion, with an exactness, that became the importance of the subject, he set the whole strength of his thoughts and studies to withstand the progress which irreligion was making. In order to that he laboured particularly to deduce every thing from the clearest principles, and to make all people feel the reasonableness of the truths, as well as of the precepts, of the Christian religion. When he saw that popery was at the root of the growing contempt of religion, and that the design seemed to be laid, to make men first atheists, that they might be the more easily made papists, and that many did not stick to own, that no certainty could be had of the Christian faith, unless upon the basis of the infallibility of the church; this gave him a deep and just indignation. It was such a betraying of the cause of God, rather than not to gain their own, that in this the foundation was laid of his great zeal against popery. This drew his studies for some years much that way. He looked on the whole system of popery, as such a corruption of the entire design of Christianity, that he thought it was incumbent on him to set himself against it with the zeal and courage, suitable to that cause, and necessary for those times. He thought, that the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome enervated true piety and morality; and that its cruelty was such a contradiction to the meekness of Christ, and that love and charity, which our Lord made the character and distinction of his disciples and followers, that he resolved to sacrifice every thing, except a good conscience, in a cause, for which he had de-

termined, if it should come to extremities, to become a sacrifice himself.*

His enemies soon saw how much he stood in their way, and were not wanting in the arts of calumny to disable him from opposing them with that eminent success, which his writings and sermons had on the nation. His life was too pure in all the parts of it to give them a pretence to attack him in that respect. So regular a piety, such an unblemished probity, and so extensive and tender a charity, together with his great and constant labours, both in private and public, raised him above reproach. And he was too generally known and esteemed, for his enemies to venture upon the common arts of defaming; so that subtiler methods were to be used, since his virtue was too exemplary to be blemished in the ordinary way. His endeavouring to make out every thing in religion from clear and plain principles, and with the fulness of demonstrative proof, was laid hold on to make him pass for one, who could believe nothing, that lay beyond the compass of human reason: and his tender method of treating with dissenters, and his endeavours to unite all protestants amongst themselves, were represented as a want of zeal in the cause of the church, and an inclination towards those, who departed from it. But how unhappily successful soever they might be in infusing these jealousies of him into some warm and unwary men, he still persevered in his own way. He would neither depart from his moderation, nor take pains to cover himself from so false an imputation. He thought the openness of his temper, the course of his life, his sincerity, and the visible effects of his labours, which had contributed so much to turn the greatest part of the city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm adherence to the communion of it,† in which no man was ever more eminently distinguished than he was; he thought,

* Funeral Sermon, p. 15, 16.

† His success in this respect, and that of some of his friends, is confessed by that rigid independent and Calvinist, Lewis du Moulin, M. D. Camdenian professor of history at Oxford, by the appointment of the parliament till the Restoration, who retracted in the presence of Dr. Burnet the virulence of his writings against the church of England at his death, October 20, 1683, at the age of 77. He observes in his last tract, intitled, An Appeal of all the Nonconformists in England to God and all the Protestants, in order to manifest their Sincerity in Point of Obedience to God and the King,—printed at London, 1681, in 4to. that "several bishops and doctors of the church of England, as Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, that are acknowledged by the nonconformists to be persons of great learning, and worth, and piety, but who are extreme admirers of the episcopacy of England, and all its consequences, and who have also preferred its government to

that constant zeal, with which he had always served such as came to labour in the city, and by which he had been so singularly useful to them; he thought the great change, that had been made in bringing men's minds off from many wild opinions to sober and steady principles, and that in so prudent a manner, that things were done without men's perceiving it, or being either startled or made uneasy by the peevishness, which is raised and kept up by contradiction or disputing, in which no man had a larger share than himself; all these reasons he thought would prevent his conduct from needing any apology.*

His zeal against popery, and apprehensions of the progress of it, having led him to examine the great question between the protestants and church of Rome concerning the rule of faith, he drew up an answer to a treatise, which was boasted of by the professors of that church, as an impregnable defence of their cause, and intitled, Sure Footing in Christianity; or, rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith, printed in 1664, in a large 8vo. The Author of it was Mr. John Sarjeant, whose real name was Smith, a secular priest, born in Lincolnshire, about the year 1621, and admitted of St. John's College, in Cambridge, in 1637, by the masters and seniors, of which he was recommended to be secretary to Dr. Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham; in which employment he continued, till falling into doubts about his religion he went over to the English college of secular priests at Lisbon, in Portugal, in 1642, and was afterwards prefect of studies in that college; and in 1652, returned to England, was elected secretary of the secular clergy, and employed in propagating his religion, and writing books in defence of it,† particularly against Dr. Hammond, Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, and Dr. Thomas Pierce, afterwards dean of Sarum. Mr. Tillotson's Rule of Faith was licensed for the press by Dr. Humphrey Henchman, bishop of London, on the 27th of February, $166\frac{5}{6}$, and printed at London, 1666, in 8vo. He inscribed it in a prefatory epistle to his honoured and learned friend Mr. Edward Stillingfleet, afterwards bishop

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all other establishments in Europe, have by an unlucky accident contributed more towards the reputation of the English hierarchy and its practices, and towards the perpetuating the feuds and quarrels between the conformists and nonconformists, than it had been possible for any other corrupted party to do by all their irregularities and advances towards Rome."

* Funeral Sermon, p. 16, 17, 18.

† Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1068.

of Worcester, whose Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion, printed in 1664, Mr. Tillotson had read with great satisfaction, and now returned his thanks for it, not only as a private favour, but a public benefit. This excellent writer, who was known to the world before by his *Irenicum*, published in 1659, and his *Origines Sacræ*, in 1662, and was a native of Cranborn, in Dorsetshire, where he was born April 17th, 1635, and educated at St. John's College, in Cambridge, having spent some years at his rectory of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, except in term-time, after he was appointed chaplain to Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the rolls, was now fixed in London in the rectory of St. Andrew, Holborn, to which he was presented in January, 166$\frac{4}{5}$, by the Earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer. His Rational Account having likewise been attacked by Mr. Sarjeant in his third Appendix, he wrote a Reply, in the form of a letter, to Mr. Tillotson, dated at London, June 28th, 1665, and printed as an Appendix to the Rule of Faith. Mr. Sarjeant was not long silent with regard to Mr. Tillotson, but published A Letter of Thanks to the Author of Sure Footing to his Answerer, Mr. J. T. said in the title-page to be printed at Paris, but really printed at London, 1666, in an octavo of one hundred and thirty-one pages, dated March 7th. The year following also Mr. Sarjeant published, Faith vindicated from Possibility of Falsehood; or, the immoveable Firmness and Certainty of the Motives to Christian Faith asserted against that Tenet, which denying Infallibility of Authority subverts its Foundation, and renders it uncertain. This was printed at London, though pretended in the title-page to be at Louvain, and contains one hundred and seventy-five pages in 8vo. besides a postscript of six pages. In this book Mr. Sarjeant having attacked a passage in p. 31. of the first edition of Dr. Tillotson's sermon On the Wisdom of being Religious, the Doctor replied to his exceptions to that sermon, and to his Rule of Faith, in the preface of the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1671, in 8vo. to which there was a rejoinder the year following, in a piece intitled, Reason against Raillery; or, a full Answer to Dr. Tillotson's Preface against J. Sarjeant. There was drawn up also A punctual Answer to his Rule of Faith, by Mr. John Austen, a gentleman of Norfolk, and a noted writer for the Roman catholic church, to which he was a convert, after having been educated in St. John's College, in Cambridge, which he quitted, as well as his religion, about the year 1640, entering himself into the Society of Lincoln's Inn, till the breaking

out of the civil wars forced him to abandon his country, to which he afterwards returned, and died at his house in Bow-street, ovent-garden, in the summer of the year 1669. His Punctual Answer was actually committed to the press, and six or seven sheets of it printed off; but the impression was never finished.* Dr. Hickes endeavours to rob our great divine of the reputation of being the author of the Rule of Faith,† pretending, that some of Dr. Tillotson's friends had assured him, that he borrowed that book from the discourses of the learned Dr. Zachary Cradock, provost of Eton College, who had designed to answer Mr. Sarjeant's Sure Footing. To this charge Bishop Burnet answers,‡ that though it is certain, that no person could converse with Dr. Cradock on any subject, but he might learn much from him, yet "I do not," says he, "believe he ever intended to answer Sarjeant, or any other book whatsoever. I am sure it is not very like him. Our primate had a stock of his own, and needed to borrow from nobody."

His love of learning, and zeal for the promotion of the study of the Scriptures, made him one of the earliest encouragers of that useful and elaborate work, the *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum*, undertaken and executed by Mr. Matthew Pool. The author had first given the world a specimen of his design, with a recommendation of it by many of the greatest names in the church at that time, and among them that of Dr. Tillotson, who had taken that degree in divinity in 1666; and he, together with Dr. Patrick, Dr. Stillingfleet, and some others, had the trust and management of the monies subscribed for the publication of the *Synopsis*.§ His Majesty having granted a patent to Mr. Pool on the 4th of October, 1667, for the privilege of printing his work, the two first volumes were published at London, in folio, in 1669, and three more afterwards. This learned man, whose abilities and piety intitled him to the great share, which he had in Dr. Tillotson's friendship, was born in York, and son of Francis Pool, Esq. and descended of an ancient family of that name at Sprinkhill, in Derbyshire. His education was in Emanuel College, in Cambridge, under Dr. John Worthington, where he took the degree of master of arts,‖ in which he was incorporated at Oxford, in June, 1657.¶ He was at the head of a scheme, formed and completed by him, for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the university of

* Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 653.
† Some Discourses, p. 46.
‡ Reflections, p. 92, 93.
§ Vide Præfat. Synops. criticor. p. vi. vii.
‖ Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 14.
¶ Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 118.

Cambridge, for the study of divinity, having by his solicitations in a short time raised 900l. a year for that purpose; and to this scheme, which sunk at the Restoration, the world is said in some measure to owe Dr. Sherlock, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Pool lost his rectory of St. Michael le Quern, in London, by the act of Uniformity, in 1662; and, retiring at last to Holland, for the free exercise of his religion, died at Amsterdam, in October, 1679.* Besides his Synopsis, which was the product of ten years' indefatigable industry, he published English Annotations on the Holy Scriptures, in which he proceeded no farther than the 58th chapter of Isaiah, being prevented by death, and several other books both in practical and controversial divinity.

The high reputation of Dr. John Wilkins, and the interest of Villiers, duke of Buckingham, having at last, notwithstanding the opposition of Archbishop Sheldon, and other great men of the church, induced the King to advance him to a bishopric, Dr. Tillotson was desired to preach the sermon on Sunday, the 15th of November, 1668, in the chapel in Ely House, at his consecration to the bishopric of Chester, vacant by the death of Dr. George Hall, on the 23d of August preceding, of a wound received by a knife in his pocket, in a fall from the mount in his garden † at the rectory-house at Wigan. Dr. Tillotson was now related to Bishop Wilkins by the marriage of his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was niece to Oliver Cromwell, being daughter of Dr. Peter French, canon of Christ Church, in Oxford, by Robina, sister to the Protector, re-married about the year 1656 to Dr. Wilkins, then warden of Wadham College; who obtained a dispensation of the statutes of that college for that marriage from the Protector, his brother-in-law, whose interest he made use of upon all occasions for the support of learning, and the protection of learned men in that university.

The natural modesty of Dr. Tillotson, and his averseness to solicitation, did not prevent his merit from having justice done it, by the interest which it gained him even at court, as well as in the city; for, upon the promotion of Dr. Peter Gunning to the bishopric of Chichester, in February, 1669-70, in the room of Dr. Henry King, he was presented to the prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new bishop;

* Dr. Calamy, *ubi supra*.

† MS. Diary of public affairs, in the possession of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth.

and was admitted to it on the 14th of March. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanery of that church in October, 1672, in the room of Dr. Thomas Turner, who died on the 8th of that month, at a very advanced age, having been domestic chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and to King Charles I. by the latter of whom he was made canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, and dean of Rochester, in February, 164$\frac{1}{2}$, which he exchanged the year following for that of Canterbury. Dr. Tillotson was succeeded in his prebend of Canterbury by Dr. Samuel Parker, afterwards bishop of Oxford, and then domestic chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon, by whom he was presented to it.

Nor was Canterbury the only cathedral, in which Dr. Tillotson was preferred; for, on the 18th of December, 1675, he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland in that of St. Paul's, London, which he resigned for that of Oxgate, and a residentiaryship in the same church on the 14th of February, 167$\frac{7}{8}$. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend, Dr. John Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, with Heneage Lord Finch, lord high chancellor,* to whom Dr. Sharp had been domestic chaplain above ten years before, having lived with that nobleman while he was only attorney-general, his Lordship, after he was possessed of the great seal, devolving on him the province of inquiring into the characters of those divines, who were candidates for preferment.† The friendship between the Dean and Dr. Sharp was occasioned by an accidental meeting upon this occasion: Mr. Joshua Tillotson, the Dean's brother, was a wet and dry salter, or oilman, in London, of which trade was the Doctor's father, Mr. Thomas Sharp, at Bradford, in Yorkshire. The Doctor returning from thence into Sir Heneage Finch's family, with a bill drawn on Mr. Joshua Tillotson, happened to meet at his house Dr. Tillotson, who finding Mr. Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman setting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himself, with his usual goodness and civility, took particular notice of him, and, after some conversation, gave Mr. Sharp leave to come freely to his house whenever he pleased, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to him. Mr. Sharp

* Letter to me from the Rev. and learned Dr. Thomas Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland, son of Archbishop Sharp, and godson of Archbishop Tillotson, dated November 7, 1751.

† Life of George Bull, Bishop of St. David's, by Robert Nelson, Esq. p. 278, 279. 2d edit. London, 1714.

judged this a most fortunate interview, and himself extremely happy in so valuable an acquaintance, and ever after spoke with pleasure of this incident. And this was the foundation of a firm and lasting friendship between them, improved by an intimate acquaintance for many years, and cemented by repeated acts of mutual good offices.*

The Dean of Canterbury had now been some years chaplain to King Charles II. though his Majesty had no kindness for him, according to the suggestion of Bishop Burnet,† admitted by Dr. Hickes.‡ But to whomsoever he owed his preferments, which can only be considered as the just rewards of his extraordinary merits, they had no other effect upon him, than to enlarge his capacity of doing good. He neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by them. He did not content himself with such a residence, as answered the statute, considering his obligations to attend the court; but gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as could agree with his other obligations. He neither aspired nor hearkened to the motions of a farther advancement; and all that he desired afterwards upon the Revolution, was such a change of his deanery of Canterbury for that of St. Paul's, as considerably lessened his income, by the resignation of his residentiaryship § of the latter, but delivered him from the invidious load of having two dignities. He bore this in the two former reigns, because the practice was common; and he was enabled by it to

* Letter of Archdeacon Sharp. † Funeral Sermon, p. 20, 21.

‡ Some Discourses, p. 63, 64.

§ The words of Bishop Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 20, upon which I grounded this assertion of Dr. Tillotson's resigning his residentiaryship, are as follow: "All that he desired upon this happy revolution, was such a change, as did considerably lessen his income, but delivered him from the invidious load of having two dignities:" which passage Mr. Beardmore, in his Memorials, seems to have understood in the same sense with myself. But I have since found by consulting the register-books of the cathedral of St. Paul's, that Dr. Tillotson did not resign his residentiaryship in that church, when he was chosen dean; both those preferments being probably considered by him as one, and appearing to be of less value at that time than the deanery of Canterbury with the residentiaryship of St. Paul's, especially when there were taken into the estimate the fees of admission into the new dignity, the first fruits, the expense of filling up and furnishing the deanery-house, and the advanced age of the Dean, with an apoplectic fit, which he had suffered. And what Bishop Burnet observes, is certain, that he considerably lessened his income by the exchange, since during the two years of his holding the deanery of St. Paul's, he had only one fine, and that a small one; whereas, the fines are usually one-third of the income.

go so far in his charities. But as he intended to put a stop to that abuse, so he resolved to set an example to others.*

His zeal against popery, as the grand corruption and reproach of the most excellent religion that ever appeared in the world, was not at all abated by any favours, which he had already received, or might expect, from a court too justly suspected of favouring the principles of the church of Rome, as a means of establishing an absolute despotic government. And he exerted this zeal upon all proper occasions, especially when there appeared any immediate danger of the progress of these principles. This he did particularly in the year 1672, towards the close of which he was advanced to the deanery of Canterbury; upon the King's having, on the 15th of March, 167$\frac{1}{2}$, with a view of indulgence to the papists, published A Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by an extraordinary act of power, abrogating several acts of parliament, or at least suspending the execution of them. The bishops in general, and particularly Dr. Humphry Henchman, bishop of London, being alarmed at this, charged their clergy to preach against popery. But the King complaining to Archbishop Sheldon of this, as done on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from himself and his government, that prelate called together some of the clergy, to consider what he should say to his Majesty, if he pressed him any farther on that head; when Dr. Tillotson, who was one of these, suggested this answer: That since his Majesty professed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion, which they believed, while he declared himself of it. However, there was no occasion for that, or any other answer, his Majesty never renewing the motion.†

But the Dean's concern for the essence of pure and uncorrupted Christianity was attended with a proportionable moderation of temper and principles with respect to the lesser differences amongst protestants, and especially those of our own country. Hence followed a constant desire in him of a more entire union of them, not only on account of the general advantage of it, but likewise of the particular one of forming a stronger barrier against the perpetual encroachments of the see of Rome. He joined therefore with Dr. Stillingfleet, and Mr. Hezekiah Burton, in the treaty proposed by Sir Orlando Bridg-

* Funeral Sermon, p. 20, 21.

† Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 309.

man, lord keeper of the great seal, about January, 166$\frac{7}{8}$, and countenanced by the Lord Chief Baron Hale, for a comprehension of such of the dissenters, as could be brought into the communion of the church, and a toleration of the rest. Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Baxter being called for, on the side of the presbyterians, a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of those things, which the King had promised by his declaration from Breda, in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was proposed, that those who had presbyterian ordination, should be received to serve in the church by an imposition of hands, accompanied with words, importing that the person so ordained was received to serve as a minister in the church of England. But this treaty becoming the subject of common discourse, a clamour was raised, especially by the friends of the Earl of Clarendon, disgraced in August, 1667, and now in banishment, that the church was undermined and betrayed;* and when a bill, drawn up by Lord Chief Baron Hale, was to be presented to the parliament, a resolution passed against admitting any bill of that nature.† A second attempt was made in 1674, when the Dean, in conjunction with Dr. Stillingfleet, desired a meeting with the principal of the nonconformists, Dr. William Bates, Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Matthew Pool, and Mr. Baxter, in order to an accommodation; for which these two divines declared they had the encouragement of several lords, both spiritual and temporal. They were at first met by Mr. Baxter alone; with whom having considered and canvassed various draughts, they at length fixed on one, in which they agreed. This being communicated to the nonconformists, proved satisfactory to them; but the bishops refusing to assent to many particulars in it, the treaty was soon at an end. Mr. Baxter sent to Dr. Tillotson, to know whether he might have leave to speak of it, in order to the promoting concord, and to signify how far they were agreed, that their names might be some advantage to the work; upon which the Doctor returned him an answer on the 11th of April, 1675, in which he informed him, that he had taken the first opportunity to speak to the Bishop of Sarum,‡ who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Bishop of Chester§ with it, in order to a meeting: but that upon some general dis-

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 259.

† Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 42, 43; and Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, p. 317—322; 2d edit.

‡ Dr. Seth Ward. § Dr. John Pearson.

course, he plainly perceived several things could not be obtained. That, however, the Bishop of Sarum had promised to appoint a time of meeting, but that he had not heard from his Lordship since. That, for his own part, he was unwilling that his name should be used in this matter; not but that he did most heartily desire an accommodation, and should always endeavour it; but that he was sure it would be a prejudice to him, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumstances were, could not pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his Majesty, which, for the present, he saw little reason to expect.*

Dr. Wilkins, bishop of Chester, dying of the stone at the Dean of Canterbury's house, in Chancery-lane, on the 19th of November, 1672, by his last will committed his papers to the Dean's care, leaving it wholly to his disposal, whether any, or what part of them, should be made public. The Dean knowing, that the Bishop's Principles of Natural Religion had been always designed by him for that purpose, thought it a justice to the world to publish that treatise, though a considerable part of it wanted the author's last hand, the first twelve chapters only being transcribed by him for the press. He therefore finished the remainder out of the Bishop's papers; and, though he warns the reader not to expect, that the work should be of equal strength and beauty in all the parts of it; yet the skill of the compiler was probably a full equivalent for the want of the finishing strokes of the original writer. He published it in 1675, in 8vo. with an excellent preface concerning the design of it: the first branch of which is the establishing the great principles of religion, the being of a God, and a future state, by shewing how firm and solid a foundation they have in the nature and reason of mankind; a work never more necessary, than in that degenerate age, so miserably over-run with scepticism and infidelity. The next point in view was, to convince men of the natural and indispensable obligation of moral duties, comprehended by our Saviour under the two general heads of love of God and our neighbour. For all the great duties of piety and justice are written upon our hearts, and every man feels a secret obligation to them in his own conscience, which checks and restrains him from acting contrary to them, and gives him peace and satisfaction in the discharge of his duty; or, in case he offend against it, fills him with

* Dr. Calamy's Abridgment, p. 343.

guilt and terror. And, certainly, it is a thing of very considerable use, rightly to understand the natural obligation of moral duties, and how necessarily they flow from the consideration of God and of ourselves. For it is a great mistake to think, that the obligation of them depends solely upon the revelation of God's will made to us in the Holy Scriptures. It is plain, that mankind was always under a law, even before God had made any external and extraordinary revelation: else, how shall God judge the world? how shall they, to whom the word of God never came be acquitted or condemned at the great day? For where there is no law, there can be neither obedience nor transgression. "It is indeed," adds the Dean, "an unspeakable advantage, which we, who are Christians, do enjoy, both in respect of the more clear and certain knowledge of our duty, in all the branches of it, and likewise in regard of the powerful motives and assistance, which our blessed Saviour in his gospel offers to us, to enable and encourage us to the discharge of our duty: but yet it is nevertheless very useful for us to consider the primary and natural obligation to piety and virtue, which we commonly call the law of nature; this being every whit as much the law of God, as the revelation of his will in his word; and, consequently, nothing contained in the word of God, or in any pretended revelation from him, can be interpreted to dissolve the obligation of moral duties plainly required by the law of nature. And, if this one thing were but well considered, it would be an effectual antidote against the pernicious doctrines of the Antinomians, and of all other libertines whatsoever; nothing being more incredible, than that Divine revelation should contradict the clear and unquestionable dictates of natural light; nor any thing more vain than to fancy, that the grace of God does release men from the law of nature." This Bishop Wilkins was very sensible of, and wisely saw of what consequence it was to establish the principles and duties of religion upon their true and natural foundation; which is so far from being a prejudice to Divine revelation, that it prepares the way for it, and gives it greater advantage and authority over the minds of men. The third point of his design was to persuade men to the practice of religion, and the virtues of a good life, by shewing how natural and direct an influence they have, not only upon our future blessedness in another world, but even upon the happiness and prosperity of this present life, "And surely," concludes the Dean, "nothing is more likely to prevail with wise and considerate men to become religious, than to be thoroughly con-

vinced, that religion and happiness, our duty and our interest, are but one and the same thing considered under several notions."

The year 1676 deprived the Dean of one of his most valuable friends, Sir Matthew Hale, who, after having filled the place of one of the justices of the Common-pleas under the Protector Cromwell, and during the several changes of government till the Restoration, and after that of lord chief baron of the Exchequer, and lord chief justice of the King's Bench, had resigned the last post on account of his age and infirmities on the 21st of February, $167\frac{5}{6}$, and died on the Christmas-day following, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, with the highest reputation for integrity and abilities in his profession, in which his writings have raised him a character equal to his greatest predecessors, and will always be esteemed as containing the best rationale of the grounds of the law of England. Nor was he an inconsiderable master of polite, philosophical, and especially theological learning, however underrated in these respects by a late writer,* evidently biassed by party prejudices; his treatise upon the Origination of Mankind shewing a great force of reasoning, and an equal compass of knowledge. This work, designed to evince the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history, was part of a larger confutation of atheism, and proof of Christianity; which, as soon as finished, he sent by an unknown hand to Bishop Wilkins for his judgment, but with no other account of the writer than that he was not a clergyman. The Bishop and Dr. Tillotson having read a great deal of it with much satisfaction, were absolutely at a loss in their conjectures about the author, and how a person, furnished with such talents of reasoning, and such a variety of learning, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out by these characters, which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson fixing upon the Lord Chief Baron Hale, the Bishop immediately agreed to his opinion, wondering that himself had been so long in finding it out. Upon which they both went to him; and the Bishop thanking him for the entertainment, which he had received from his manuscript, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person, whom he had trusted, had discovered him. But the Bishop soon cleared that point, and told him, that he had discovered himself; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that prelate having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed

* Life of the Lord Keeper North, by Roger North, Esq. p. 63.

with so much plainness and prudence, told him, that there was nothing could be better said on the subject, if he could bring it into a less compass; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have the book come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the advantage of it. But his Lordship had never the opportunity of revising it; yet a little before his death sent the first part of it to the press.*

The Dean's eminence of character, as well as the personal obligations of the writer, produced a dedication to him in 1677, of A Bief Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation, by Thomas Comber, M. A. afterwards doctor of divinity, and præcentor of York, and promoted to the deanery of Durham, in April, 1691, which he enjoyed to his death on the 25th of November, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. Mr. Comber begins his dedication by observing, that he did not imagine that he should discharge those obligations, which the Dean's goodness had laid upon him, but rather increase them, by presenting those little tracts to him: "For it will," says he, "contribute to their reputation to be ushered in with so worthy a name, and add to their author's character to be reckoned among the number of your friends. So that if this tender be accepted but as the testimony of my gratitude, I shall confess myself to be your debtor still: I hope they are so done, that they may be honoured with your approbation, as well as your name; for then they will be effectually recommended to all the judicious, and raised above the censures of the less deserving."

The rise of his interest with the Prince and Princess of Orange, with the consequence of it in his advancement to the see of Canterbury, has been ascribed to an incident, which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by one of our historians,† as drawn from a manuscript account taken from Archbishop Tillotson's own mouth: That the match between that Prince and Princess being made upon political views against the will of the Duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the King, the country party, as they were then called, were exceedingly pleased and elevated; and, after the lord mayor's feast,‡ a secret design was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city to a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bridegroom and bride, as fast as they

* Life of Sir Matthew Hale, by Dr. Burnet, p. 49—52. Edit. 1682.

† Echard's History of England. Appendix, p. 11. ‡ October 29

could, out of town; so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by way of Harwich, but the Prince and Princess by Canterbury road, where they were to lie till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn; and, no good care being taken in their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monsieur Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation; but, upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other, that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Mons. Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got: and withal complained, that they did not come to the deanery, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined; but the money, plate, and the rest, were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the Dean was carried to wait upon the Prince and Princess; and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. "By this lucky accident," adds the account, "he began that acquaintance and the correspondence with the Prince and Mons. Bentinck, which yearly increased to the very Revolution, when Mons. Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends on his own account, as well as the Prince himself, when he arrived at the crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the Bishop of London (whose quality and services seemed to entitle him without a rival to the archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. Tillotson advanced over his head." But this solemn and circumstantial story, when examined, will be found liable to great exceptions: for, not to anticipate what will in the course of this life be produced from unquestionable evidence concerning the true causes and circumstances of our Dean's advancement to the archbishopric, it will be sufficient at present to point out some mistakes in the other parts of the narrative cited by the historian. For the Prince and Princess of Orange were far from being hurried out of town, after the lord mayor's feast, on the 29th of October, 1677, or their own marriage, which was performed by Dr. Henry Compton, bishop of London, who claimed that

office at St. James's, in the presence of the King, and Duke and Dutchess of York, and some of the chief nobility, on Sunday, November the 4th, being the birth-day of the Prince of Orange;* for the new-married couple did not leave Whitehall till Monday morning, the 19th of that month: and, instead of taking the road to Canterbury, where they were to lie, till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them, they were accompanied by his Majesty and the Duke of York as far as Erith, where the Prince and Princess went on board the yachts appointed to convey them to Holland.† Being detained at Sheerness by contrary winds, the King sent an express to them to return to London; and they went ashore there, lodging at the house of Col. Dorrel, the governor; and, the next day, being Friday, the 23d of November, went from thence to Canterbury, the Prince taking with him Mons. Bentinck, Mons. Odyck, and Count Horn, and the Princess being attended thither by the Countess of Inchiquin, and one of her dressers. During their stay at Canterbury the Prince was complimented by all the gentlemen of the country, and presented by them with abundance of provisions of all sorts for his table; and on Sunday he went to the cathedral, where he heard the whole Divine service and a sermon.‡ The other circumstances of what is affirmed to have passed at their arrival at Canterbury in respect to the want of necessaries, and the corporation's refusal to supply them, and the Dean's assistance, which would never be wanting upon such occasion, must be left upon the authority of Mr. Echard's narrative. The Prince and Princess left that city on Monday morning, November 26, and went that night on board the Montagu, commanded by Sir John Holmes, in Margate Road, who, on Wednesday the 28th, set sail, and landed them in Holland the next day.§

The high esteem, which that inexhaustible genius, Dr. Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, had for our Dean, induced him to leave his manuscripts to the care of a friend so capable of bringing them into the world with all possible advantage. And having, during his last illness, and not long before his death, which happened on the 4th of May, 1677, given him a particular permission to print his Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, the Dean

* MS. Diary of public transactions, in the possession of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth; and Gazette, No. 1249, from Monday, Nov. 5, to Thursday, Nov. 8, 1677.

† Gazette, No. 1253, from Monday, Nov. 19, to Thursday, Nov. 22, 1677; and MS. Diary.

‡ MS. Diary. § Ibid.

accordingly prepared it for the press, and published it in 1680, at London, in quarto, with a preface, in which he observes, that whoever shall carefully peruse that discourse, will find, that this point of the pope's supremacy (upon which Bellarmin hath the confidence to say "the whole of Christianity depends") is not only an indefensible, but an impudent cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. "And nothing," adds the Dean, "could have kept it so long from being ridiculous in the judgment of mankind, but its being so strongly supported by a worldly interest: for there is not one tolerable argument for it; and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it." To this discourse he added another of Dr. Barrow, concerning the Unity of the Church, in which the Doctor so explains it, as quite to take away the necessity of a visible head over the whole church for the preservation of its unity; "which is," says Dr. Tillotson, "the only specious, but yet a very remote pretence for the pope's supremacy: for, if a visible monarch of the church were granted necessary (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved) to make the Bishop of Rome the man."

The sudden death of his second brother, Mr. Joshua Tillotson, by a vomiting of blood, on the 16th of September, 1678, affected him in a very sensible manner; and, being unwilling to shock his father, then at his house, at Sowerby, with the abrupt communication of it, wrote the same day to his kinsman, Mr. Timothy Bentley, desiring him to acquaint him with the loss of his son, and to intreat him "to bear it with patience and submission to the will of God, and to comfort himself, as I," says he, "desire to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying him in a better life." *

About this time he succeeded in his endeavours to serve Mr. George Bull, afterwards bishop of St. David's, then only rector of Siddington, St Mary, and vicar of Siddington, St Peter, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, though known to the public by his Harmonia Apostolica, published in 1669, and his *Examen Censuræ* in 1676: for he procured a prebend of Gloucester for Mr. Bull,† who was enstalled into it on the 9th of October, 1678, from the Lord Chancellor Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, who gave the same year another instance of his regard for learning, by preferring

* Original letter of the Dean, dated at London, Sept. 16, 1678, communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. John Tillotson, surmaster of St. Paul's School.

† Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 954. Mr. Nelson, in his Life of Bishop Bull, p. 276—280, mentions nothing of the Dean of Canterbury's endeavours in obtaining that prebend for him.

in that cathedral Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whose Intellectual System of the Universe has raised him a reputation, to which nothing can add but the publication of his other writings.*

The discovery of the popish plot in September, 1678, of which the reality, or at least extent, has been since treated as one of the greatest problems in history, having given great alarm to the parliament, which met on the 21st of October, a few days after the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Dean was appointed to preach before the House of Commons on the 5th of November following. His text was Luke ix. 55, 56. and the design of his discourse is to shew, that a revengeful, and cruel, and destructive spirit, is directly contrary to the design and temper of the gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the conclusion he makes an application of that doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the church of Rome, and particularly in the gun-powder treason plot, avowed by the authors of it, who expressed a concern for its ill success, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, then in the Dean's hands. He willingly acknowledges the great piety and charity of several persons, who had lived and died in the communion of that church, as Erasmus, Father Paul, Thuanus, and many others, "who had," says he, "in truth, more goodness than the principles of that religion do either incline men to, or allow of." He declares, that it was not his intention to exasperate the House of Commons to any unreasonable or unnecessary, much less unchristian severities against the papists. "No," adds he, "let us not do like them. Let us never do any thing for religion that is contrary to it. But I speak it to awaken your care thus far, that if their priests will always be putting these pernicious principles into the minds of the people, effectual provision may be made, that it may never be in their power again to put them in practice." He then touches upon the late discovery of the plot, and the treacherous murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a very good man, and a most excellent magistrate, who had been active in that discovery. He closes with alleging, that if he had been transported by this subject somewhat beyond his usual temper, the occasion of that day, and the circumstances of the time would, he hoped, bear him out. "I can truly say," continues he, "as the Roman orator did of himself upon another occasion, '*me natura misericordem, patria*

* See the titles of them in the Life of Cudworth, prefixed to the 2d edition of his Intellect. System, London, 1743, in 4to. p. xix. xx.

severum: crudelem nec patria nec natura esse voluit.' My nature inclines me to be tender and compassionate. A hearty zeal for our religion, and concernment for the public welfare of my country, may perhaps have made me a little severe: but neither my natural disposition, nor the temper of the English nation, nor the genius of the protestant, that is, the true Christian religion, will allow me to be cruel."

He had, not long after this, an occasion to improve these considerations concerning the nature and tendency of popery, to the disengaging young noblemen of great parts from the profession of it, in which he had been educated. This was Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, created a duke by King William, to whom he was secretary of state, having had a considerable share in the Revolution; and in the latter end of whose reign he retired to Italy for his health, where he continued till about the year 1706, when he returned to England, and joined the new ministry; notwithstanding which he was again made lord chamberlain to King George I. as he had been to Queen Anne, and died on the 1st of February, 171$\frac{7}{8}$. His Lordship was led into an inquiry into his first religion by the discovery of the popish plot; and was soon made sensible of its errors and corruptions by so thorough a master of that subject as the Dean of Canterbury, whom he attended for the first time at the public worship in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, on Sunday, the 4th of May, 1679.* The Dean's concern for the Earl induced him afterwards, upon being informed of his Lordship's being engaged in a conversation, which might prove dangerous to his virtue as well as his character, to write to him the following letter, which may be considered a master-piece for the elegance and politeness, as well as force and pathos, of the remonstrance.

" MY LORD,

" It was a great satisfaction to me to be any ways instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to our religion, which I am really persuaded to be the truth. But I am, and always was, more concerned that your Lordship would continue a virtuous and good man, than become a protestant; being assured, that the ignorance and errors of men's understanding will find a much easier forgiveness with God, than the faults of the will. I remember that your Lordship

* MS. Diary of public transactions, in the possession of the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Viscount Weymouth.

once told me, that you would endeavour to justify the sincerity of your change, by a conscientious regard to all other parts and actions of your life. I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn your own act than by being a worse man after your profession to have embraced a better religion. I will certainly be one of the last to believe any thing of your Lordship that is not good, but I always feared I should be one of the first that should hear it. The time I last waited upon your Lordship, I had heard something that afflicted me very sensibly; but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore loth to trouble your Lordship about it: but having heard the same from those who, I believe, bear no ill-will to your Lordship, I now think it my duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I have been told, that your Lordship is of late fallen into a conversation dangerous both to your reputation and virtue, two of the tenderest and dearest things in the world. I believe your Lordship to have a great command and conduct of yourself, but I am very sensible of human frailty, and of the dangerous temptations to which youth is exposed in this dissolute age: therefore I earnestly beseech your Lordship to consider, besides the high provocation of Almighty God, and the hazard of your soul, whenever you engage in a bad course, what a blemish you will bring upon a fair and unspotted reputation; what uneasiness and trouble you will create to yourself, from the severe reflections of a guilty conscience; and how great a violence you will offer to your good principles, your nature, and your education, and to a mind the best made for virtuous and worthy things. And do not imagine you can stop when you please; experience shews us the contrary; and that nothing is more vain, than for men to think they can set bounds to themselves in any thing that is bad. I hope in God no temptation has yet prevailed on your Lordship, so far as to be guilty of any loose act. If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed to a habit. The retreat is yet easy and open, but will every day become more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that, upon your repentance and resolution of amendment, he is not only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce these considerations upon a mind so capable of, and easy to receive good counsel. I shall only desire your Lordship to think again and again, how great a point of wisdom it is, in all our actions, to consult the peace of our minds, and to have no quarrel with the constant and inseparable companion of our lives. If others displease us, we may quit

their company; but he that is displeased with himself is unavoidably unhappy, because he has no way to get rid of himself.

"My Lord, for God's sake, and your own, think of being happy, and resolve by all means to save yourself from this untoward generation. Determine rather upon a speedy change of your condition, than to gratify the inclinations of your youth in any thing but what is lawful and honourable; and let me have the satisfaction to be assured from your Lordship, either that there has been no ground for this report, or that there shall be none for the future; which will be the welcomest news to me in the world. I have only to beg of your Lordship to believe, that I have not done this to satisfy the formality of my profession, but that it proceeds from the truest affection and good-will, that one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every day for your Lordship with the same constancy and fervour as for myself, and do most earnestly beg that this counsel may be acceptable and effectual.

"I am," &c.

Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had contracted an intimate friendship with our Dean in his first journey to England, in 1663,* having finished his History of the Reformation, the first volume of which was published in 1679, as the second was in 1681, he submitted the manuscript of the whole work to his perusal and correction, as well as to that of Dr. William Lloyd, then dean of Bangor, and soon after bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Stillingfleet, promoted to the deanery of St. Paul's, in the room of Dr. William Sancroft, advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in January, 167$\frac{7}{8}$. And Dr. Burnet, in his preface to that history, which is one of the most valuable in our own, or in any other language, returns his acknowledgments upon that account to these three great divines, "whose lives," says he, "are such examples, their sermons such instructions, their writings such unanswerable vindications of our church, and their whole deportment so suitable to their profession, that, as I reckon my being admitted into some measure of friendship with them among the chief blessings of my life, so I know nothing can more effectually recommend this work, than to say, that it passed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the cause

* See the Life of Bishop Burnet, subjoined to the 2d vol. of the History of his Own Time, p. 676.

concerned in it, and their goodness to the author, and freedom with him, obliged them to use."

The publication of this history was a most seasonable service to the nation, amidst the alarms of popery: and the same reason induced the Dean to take all opportunities to oppose the progress of that religion, especially at court, whence the greatest danger of it was then apprehended. Being called upon therefore unexpectedly to preach out of his turn before the King at Whitehall, on the 2d of April, 1680, he took for his text Josh. xxiv. 15; and his sermon was soon after published by his Majesty's special command at London, in 4to. under the title of The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty. But this discourse, though an excellent and judicious one in the main parts of it, yet contained some incidental assertions, which gave no small offence to many, both of the church and dissenting communions, particularly the following passage:*—"I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that is not extraordinarily commissioned as the apostles and first publishers of the gospel were, and cannot justify that commission by miracles, as they did, to affront the established religion of a nation, though it be false, and openly to draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the law. All that persons of a different religion can in such a case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion, for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of proselytes to their own religion (though they be never so sure that they are in the right), till they have either an extraordinary commission from God to that purpose, or the providence of God make way for it by the permission of the magistrate." Dr. Hickes styles† this downright Hobbism; and tells us, that a witty Lord,‡ standing at the King's elbow when it was delivered, said, "Sir, sir, do you hear Mr. Hobbes in the pulpit?" and that Dr. Gunning, bishop of Ely, complained of it in the House of Lords, as a doctrine that would serve the turn of popery. He cites likewise the following extract of a letter of Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely, to Dr. Samuel Parker, then archdeacon of Canterbury:—"A passage, I assure you, which I and some of our

* Page 11, 12. Edit. 1680. † Some Discourses, p. 48.

‡ Mr. Leslie, in his Charge of Socinianism against Tillotson, considered, p. 13, says, that it was the E. of D.

common acquaintance read not without a great deal of trouble, when we first saw it. . . . They think it would be well to admonish him in a letter of this error, and to represent the consequences of it to him, exposing his opinion. . . . It is plain, by another passage in that sermon, that he was not awake, nor had his wits about him, as he used to have, when he wrote it. The place I mean is, page 9. There the very existence of a God may be thought to be called into question by him, and to be in his account but a politic invention. For thus he writes, pressing religion as the strongest band of human society: 'God is so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind, as* if the being of God himself had been purposely designed and contrived for the benefit and advantage of men.' In which his meaning is so untowardly expressed, that you cannot but think he was indisposed, when he wrote so untowardly. He hath altered this passage, I hear, in the second edition; but so it is, as I have received it in that, which he sent me at its first coming out. And, indeed, that parenthesis in the first part of the sermon (till I be better informed) shews he was in too great haste at least when he composed it, else he would never have adventured to deliver his opinion in a matter of such moment, till he had been better informed of its truth. . . . I do not write this out of any change there is in my mind concerning persons or things, having the very same thoughts I had when you and I conversed more frequently together, but the lamentable case of things . . . I cannot but have a love to Dr. Tillotson's person, though I have none for his opinion. I therefore would gladly have him well treated, though he be never so sharply reproved." Dr. Hickes adds, that Dr. Patrick confirmed all this to Dr. Parker, when he met the latter in London, and said, that Dr. Tillotson ought to give satisfaction by a retraction, or else be exposed. "If he will not," says he, "be reduced, he ought to have no mercy, but to be hunted out of the Christian church, when he will not own it."

The Dean's doctrine was likewise animadverted upon by Mr. Simon Lowth, vicar of Cosmus Blene, in the diocese of Canterbury, in his treatise, Of the Subject of Church Power, in whom it resides, its force, extent, and execution, that it opposes not Civil Government in any one instance of it. Printed at London, 1685, in 8vo. This discourse had been seen in manuscript by the Dean and his friend Dr. Stillingfleet, who was also severely reflected

* The words in the 1st edition are, "as he could not have been more, if we could suppose the being," &c.

upon in it for his Irenicum; and the author called upon them by a letter, printed afterwards in the preface to that book, to retract their own opinions, or to confute his. But the Dean of Canterbury did not think proper to take the least public notice of so confused and unintelligible a writer,* whose style is a mere jargon, though Dr. Hickes † is pleased to style him a very orthodox and learned divine, and his book an excellent one; and King James II. had so great a regard for him, as to nominate him to the deanery of Rochester, in the latter end of October, 1688, which Mr. Lowth could not obtain possession of for want of the degree of doctor of divinity, before that King's abdication.‡

But it will be now requisite to see how the Dean's position abovementioned was received by the nonconformists. Dr. Calamy's account is,§ that King Charles II. having slept most part of the time while the sermon was delivered, a certain nobleman stepped up to him, as soon as it was over, and said, "'Tis pity your Majesty slept; for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life." "Ods fish, he shall print it then," answered the King, and immediately called the Lord Chamberlain, and gave him his command to the Dean to print his sermon. When it came from the press, the Dean sent it as a present (as he usually did most of the pieces which he published) to Mr. John Howe, one of the most learned among the nonconformist ministers, and who had been chaplain to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. Mr. Howe immediately perused it, and was not a little troubled to find a notion there of so ill a tendency. Upon this he drew up a long letter, in which he freely expostulated with the Dean for giving such a wound to the Reformation; intimating to him, that Luther and Calvin, and the rest of the reformers were (thanks be to God) of another mind. The Christian religion, says he, both as to its precepts and promises is already confirmed by miracles; and must it be repeated every time a wicked governor thinks fit to establish a false religion? Must no one stand up for the true religion, till

* Dr. Stillingfleet made some remarks on Mr. Lowth's book in his epistle dedicatory prefixed to his Sermon, preached at a Public Ordination at St. Peter's, Cornhill, March 15th, 1684-5; to which Mr. Lowth replied in a letter to him, printed in 1687, in 4to.

† Some Discourses, p. 48.

‡ Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 138.

§ Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Howe, p. 75, 76. Edit. London, 1724, in 8vo. Dr. Calamy says, p. 78, that the person from whom he had the story committed it to writing presently after he had received it from Mr. Howe himself.

he can work a miracle? He signified to him, how much he was grieved, that, in a sermon against popery, he should plead the popish cause against all the reformers; and insisted upon it, that we had incontestable evidence of the miracles wrought by the apostles, and that we are bound to believe them, and take religion to be established by them without any farther expectations. Mr. Howe carried the letter himself, and delivered it into the Dean's own hands; and he, taking a general and cursory view of it, signified his willingness to talk that whole matter freely over; but said they could not be together where they were without interruption, and therefore moved for a little journey into the country, that so they might have freedom of discourse. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the Lady Falconbridge, and Mr. Howe read over the letter to the Dean, and enlarged upon the contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his chariot. The Dean at length fell to weeping freely, and said, that this was the most unhappy thing that had a long time befallen him; and that he saw what he had offered was not to be maintained. But he told him, that it was not his turn to preach as on that day; but the person who was to have done that office falling sick, the Dean was sent to by the Lord Chamberlain to supply his place. He added, that he had but little notice, and so considered the general fears of popery, and his text offering itself, he thought the notion resulted from it. "And," said he, "immediately after preaching, I received a command from the King to print the sermon, and then it was not in my power to alter it." A discourse having been drawn up, on occasion of some of the passages excepted to in the Dean's sermon, and sent to him, he returned it, with the following letter, to Mr. Baxter, the original of which was communicated to me by a learned friend.

"REV. SIR, *June* 2, 1680.

"I received your letter and the papers inclosed, which, having perused, I do now return. And I cannot think myself to be really much concerned in them, because they grant all along, that the obligation of duty ceaseth where there is no probability of success; and this principle is the true ground and bottom of my assertion: so that unless upon the same principle opposite conclusions can be built, there must be some mistake in the reasoning of one side. But, whether I be really concerned in it or not, I have great reason to think, that it will generally be believed that this discourse is particularly designed against me; and that the same malice, which

raised so groundless a clamour against my late sermon, will be very glad to find me struck at in the odious company of Spinosa and Mr. Hobbes, as of the same atheistical principles with them; a blow which I least expected, and for that reason should be very much surprised to receive from your hand. I could be glad to meet with that kindness and candour which I have ever used towards others; but, if that may not be, I must content myself with the conscience of having endeavoured to deserve well of all men, and of the truth itself.—I am, sir, with great sincerity, as I have always been,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"JOHN TILLOTSON."

This letter seems to have prevented the publication of the discourse mentioned in it; and appears to have been the chief, if not only, foundation of a story related by Dr. Hickes,* in his own manner, as a proof that the Dean's tenderness for the dissenters was much greater than for those of the church; for that he made them satisfaction for the scandal, which his sermon on Joshua xxiv. 15. had given them, but would never do any thing to remove the offence given to his brethren of the church. The Doctor tells us, that he came to know this secret by an honourable person of his acquaintance, who happening to give Dr. Cox† a visit presently after Dr. Stillingfleet had published his sermon, intitled, The Mischief of Separation, preached before the lord mayor at St. Paul's, on the 2d of May, 1680, found Mr. Baxter at his house vehemently inveighing both against it and him.‡ "This," adds Dr. Hickes, "gave occasion to that gentleman to ask him, why he was so severe upon that sermon and the author of it, and yet took no notice of another, which was newly come out, and which he thought had given the men of his party as much offence as it did to those of the church of England? 'What sermon is that?' said Mr. Baxter. 'It is the Dean of Canterbury's court-sermon,' saith he, 'wherein he tells you, that you must not affront the established religion, nor openly draw men off from the profession of it.'

* Some Discourses, p. 49, 50.

† Dr. Thomas Cox, who, after having taken the degree of doctor of physic at Padua, in December, 1641, was incorporated in it at Oxford, on the 15th October, 1646, and afterwards fellow of the College of Physicians, and at last president of it, but was deprived of that office in October, 1683, for being whiggishly inclined, as Mr. Wood informs us, Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 54.

‡ Mr. Baxter published An Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet's Charge of Separation, at London, in 1680, in 4to.

'Oh!' replied Mr. Baxter, 'he gave us great offence indeed, but he hath cried *peccavi*, and made us satisfaction; but your other Dean is a proud, haughty man, that will retract nothing.' The gentleman having finished his visit, took leave of the Doctor and Mr. Baxter; and the same day called upon the Dean of St. Paul's, to give an account of what had passed betwixt him and Mr. Baxter; and, finding the Dean of Canterbury with him, told the story to them both. Upon which the Dean of St. Paul's asked the Dean of Canterbury, 'And did you in good earnest cry *peccavi* to Mr. Baxter?' 'Pish,' replied he, 'will you mind what Mr. Baxter saith?' But the Dean of St. Paul's, not being satisfied with that evasive answer, pressed him to a categorical answer; upon which his countenance altering, he went away in disorder without any reply." What judgment is to be formed of the truth of the circumstances of this story, will appear from comparing it with the Dean of Canterbury's own letter to Mr. Baxter just given, by which it is evident, that he neither cried *peccavi*, nor had any reason, upon being questioned about the affair, to go away in disorder without any reply.

It was probably one of the nonconformists, and no inconsiderable writer among them, who, soon after the publication of the Dean's sermon, printed in 4to. "Short Animadversions upon it, so far as the said sermon asserteth the power of the magistrate in things of religion over his subjects, the same with that of a master of a family over his family. The unlawfulness of preaching the true religion by ministers, where a false religion is established by law, without an extraordinary commission confirmed by miracles; and the hypocrisy of such ministers, as think themselves obliged to preach Christ (though contrary to a law) in their own country, because they do not go and do the same in Turkey or Spain. All which assertions are shortly examined. The first proved to be uncertainly true; the second condemning the practice of all the first ministers of the gospel after the apostles, and of those that have laboured in the Reformation; the third, most uncharitable and groundless." This piece is written with the utmost civility to the Dean, whom the author acquits of any thought of encouraging a persecution of protestant dissenters, at a time when it was the most advisable project for the popish design imaginable, "because," says the animadverter,* "he hath appeared to the world such an eminent assertor of the true religion against popery; and as he is a man of judgment and learning above thousands of others, so he

* Page 1.

hath always appeared a man of temper and exceeding great moderation." He declares* himself, likewise, so far from the base disingenuity of those, who can see nothing good in their adversaries, that though he thought himself obliged to enter his dissent to some things said by the Dean, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, and the force of some human laws prohibiting men to preach the gospel: yet he was so far pleased with the rest of the discourse, that "I do," says he, "for myself, and I dare venture in the name of all dissenters, to give him thanks for what he hath said in it in defence of the protestant religion (that hogen-mogen thing, as a late dialogist, who would be thought a protestant, is pleased to call it), and to aver, that if there were no more said by any in the world to loath people of that religion, and make it an abhorrence to all good princes and all good men, than he hath said in thirteen or fourteen lines, nor any more said than he hath said, to baffle their popish arguments from universality and antiquity, yet there needed no more; for all the papists on earth can never either wipe off the first, or answer the latter." The animadverter then remarks,† that all that he had to enter his dissent to, lies in five pages of the Dean's sermon; nor should he have done that, if he had not judged that by some assertions in them the magistrate is warranted, if not in the slaying, yet in the banishment, or severe punishing, of his subjects dissenting, not in the essentials of religion, but only in the circumstantials; yet such, as in the doing, or not doing of them aright, the soul may become guilty before God: and also that, by those assertions, whosoever succeeded the apostles in the plantation of the gospel, in countries where a false religion was before established by a law; and all those glorious martyrs, who had suffered for publishing the gospel in England, while popery was here established by law, or in other countries; "and so," continues he, "all the first reformers are most inconsiderately condemned, as doing that they had no right, no authority to do; and all those divines condemned for hypocrites, who take themselves bound, in their native country and to their neighbourhood, under a necessity to preach the gospel, and cannot think that they have an equal obligation upon them to traverse the world, and to make the gospel abound, from London to Constantinople, Rome, or Madrid." He assents to the main proposition of the Dean, that "to countenance and support the true religion, and to take care that the people be instructed in

* Page 2, 3. † Page 4, 5.

it, and that none be permitted to debauch and seduce men from it, properly belongs to the civil magistrate ;" but then proceeds to his exceptions against some of the subsequent passages in the sermon. And the Dean himself thought proper to review it, and to publish a new edition of it the same year, though without taking notice in the title-page that it was a second edition; in which he made an alteration or two in the passages excepted to ; particularly in that, where in the former edition he spake of religion's being " the strongest band of human society," and " so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind," as he " could not have been more," &c. he changed the word *he* into *it ;* and again, in the third succeeding paragraph, after the word "*permission*," he added (or connivance) " of the magistrate." These alterations were preserved in all the subsequent editions ; and, in the first, in 8vo. in the third volume of his Sermons in 1686, Sermon ix. he made an addition of near a page, after the words " permission or connivance of the magistrate," beginning thus—" not but that every man hath a right," &c. and ending with the word " sufferings."

The Animadversions abovementioned came to his hands while he was in residence at Canterbury, in July, 1680; but they did not " seem to him very considerable," as he wrote on the 27th of that month to his friend Robert Nelson, Esq. " However," added he, " I am sorry that any thing of mine should occasion so much talk and noise." This letter is the earliest in date of the collection now before me,* written by the Dean to that gentleman, whose friendship for the former, notwithstanding the difference of their political sentiments after the Revolution, is equally honourable to them both. This letter is an answer to one from Mr. Nelson, containing his acknowledgments for the civilities shewn him during his stay with the Dean, whom he had lately visited at Canterbury; and shews how great share that gentleman then had in the good opinion of so able a judge of men. Mr. Nelson was at that time but four-and-twenty years of age, being born in London on the 22d of June, 1656. He was son of Mr. John Nelson, a considerable Turkey merchant of that city, by Deliciæ, his wife, sister of Sir Gabriel Roberts, who was likewise a Turkey merchant, and a particular friend of Dr. Tillotson. His father dying when he was but two years old, he was committed to the care of his mother and her brother Sir Gabriel, who was appointed his guardian, and by

* Communicated to me by the late Rev. Obadiah Hughes, D. D. who married the daughter of Sir Gabriel Roberts, uncle to Mr. Nelson.

whom he was extremely beloved, not only on account of his near relation, but also of his person and temper, and the strength and vivacity of his understanding even in his earliest years. His first education was at St. Paul's school, in London; but the principal part of it was formed under a private tutor in his mother's house,* and likewise no less a man than Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, and then rector of St. Mary Siddington, with the vicarage of St. Peter annexed to it, near Cirencester, in the county of Gloucester,† to whose memory Mr. Nelson returned an ample tribute of gratitude and regard, in the elaborate and instructive Life,‡ which he published of that great divine, his application to which is thought to have heightened the disorder, under which he long laboured, an asthma and dropsy in the breast, which proved fatal to him at the age of fifty-nine, on the 16th of January, 171$\frac{4}{5}$, at Kensington, in the house of his cousin, Mrs. Wolf, daughter of Sir Gabriel Roberts, and then a widow. His body was interred in the new burying-ground in Lamb's Conduit-fields, where a monument is erected to him, with an epitaph in Latin, written by the elegant pen of Dr. Smalridge, bishop of Bristol; and his funeral sermon was preached in the chapel of Ormond-street, on the 6th of February following, and soon after published, by Dr. John Marshal, L.L.D. in which his character for learning, piety, charity, and humanity, is fully represented. He had adhered to the communion of the deprived bishops till the death of Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, on the 1st of January, 17$\frac{0}{1}$$\frac{9}{0}$, which terminating, in his and Mr. Dodwell's opinion, what they had before thought a schism, he joined in communion with the bishops who had taken the oaths. His conduct in that respect was highly disapproved of by Dr. Hickes, with whom, as well as others of the most eminent nonjurors, he had cultivated the strictest intimacy; which will account for his profound silence with respect to his old friend Archbishop Tillotson in all his writings; Dr. Hickes being now his favourite writer, whom he represented§ "as the most considerable reviver of primitive theology" in that age, and one who had "created such a regard to antiquity," as would preserve the age from the "infection of latitudinarian principles."

* Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, p. 433, 434.

† Life of Dean Colet, by Dr. Samuel Knight, p. 420, 421; and account of Mr. Nelson, prefixed to the 19th edit. of his Companion for the Festivals and Feasts of the Church of England.

‡ Life of Bishop Bull, by Mr. Nelson, p. 2. 2d edit.

§ Life of Bishop Bull, p. 514, 515.

The death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, at Woodstock Park, in Oxfordshire, on the 6th of July, 1680, preceded by a repentance equally remarkable with the unexampled profligacy of his conduct and principles, giving occasion to a letter of Mr. Nelson a few days after, the Dean begins his answer to it from Canterbury on the 2d of August, in these words: "Could I have found any thing in myself to have justified your kind opinion of me, I might have taken the opportunity to have let a copy of your letter slip abroad, under pretence of publishing my Lord of Rochester's repentance. I am sorry, that an example, which might have been of so much use and advantage to the world, is so soon taken from us. But God had pity on him, and would not venture him again in such circumstances of temptation, as were pehaps too hard for human frailty." The case of his Lordship made as deep an impression upon the Dean, as such an uncommon event might be expected to do upon a mind turned and habituated so much to reflection upon every incident of importance; and he entered into his commonplace book in short hand the following thoughts upon that occasion:

"*Oct.* 1, 1680.—MY LORD OF ROCHESTER,

"The omnipotency of God's grace can easily change any man, by letting in light into his mind, and pouring in strong convictions into his conscience. The greatest and most obstinate minds, he that made them, how easily can he turn them, even the hearts of kings, as the rivers of water, which follow the channel that is made for them!

"An example encouraging enough to keep any man from despair, but not strong enough to found an absolute predestination of all upon.

"If this great general and leader was so easily conquered, and yielded up himself a willing captive to the grace of God * *

"Bad men are infidels *se defendendo*. When the affection to our lusts is gone, the objections against religion vanish of themselves,

"Choose you and * *

"The greatest instance any age hath afforded: not for his own sake, as St. Paul was not, who yet was no enemy to God and religion, but by mistake. I cannot think, but that it was intended for some greater good to others.

"If reputation, or pleasure, or safety, or virtue, or even happiness itself have any religion hath all these in it.

"Atheism and infidelity do not bind up the senses of men strongly

enough, but they may be awakened by the apprehension of death, or some great calamity coming upon them. A false religion, if a man be sincere in it, will bear up a man's spirits against torments and death, because every man's conscience is a kind of god to him; and the strongest opiates in the world are enthusiasm and popery. These may lock up men's senses beyond the power of truth to awaken them; as we see in the murderers of our late sovereign, and in our present Romish conspirators."

Some of these reflections were afterwards introduced by the Dean into his sermon on Jerem. xiii. 23. "Of the Difficulty of reforming vicious Habits," in the following passage of which he evidently alludes to the recovery of Lord Rochester from his enormous course of vice. "Even in this perverse and degenerate age, in which we live, God hath not been wanting to give some miraculous instances * of his grace and mercy to sinners, and these perhaps equal to any of those we meet with in Scripture, of Manasses, or Mary Magdalene, or the penitent thief, both for the greatness of the offenders, and the miracle of their change, to the end that none may despair, and for want of the encouragement of an example equal to their own case, be disheartened from so noble an enterprise. I am loth to put you in mind how bad some have been, who yet have been 'snatched as firebrands out of the fire,' and that in so strange a manner, that it would even amaze a man to think of the wonder of their recovery. Those who have sunk themselves into the very depth of infidelity and wickedness, have by a mighty hand, and outstretched arm of God, been plucked out of this horrible pit. And will we still stand it out with God, when such great leaders have given up the cause, and have surrendered and yielded up themselves willing captives to the grace of God? that omnipotent grace of God, which can easily subdue

* Beside the case of the Earl of Rochester, there was another instance of a nobleman and a contemner of religion, James Ley, earl of Marlborough, brought to a different sense of things upon real conviction, even in full health, some time before he was killed in the sea-fight, at Southold Bay, under the Duke of York against the Dutch, on the 3d of June, 1665. He wrote several letters to his friends, whom he was conscious of having injured by his ill example and impiety, urging them to return to virtue and religion. Mr. Prince, in his Worthies of Devonshire, and Bishop Kennet, in his Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 276, 2d edit. have published one of these letters, written to Sir Hugh Pollard, comptroller of the household: and I have the original of another in my possession, dated 23d of May, 1665, and directed to William Glascock, Esq.

the stoutest heart of man, by letting in so strong a light upon our minds, and pouring such terrible convictions into our consciences, that we can find no ease but in turning to God." He then proceeds to obviate the objections of those, who either denied, that there had been such examples, or imputed the behaviour of such persons at their death, either to a disturbed imagination, or to the faint and low spirits of men under great bodily weakness, or to their natural cowardice and fear, or to I know not what foolish and fantastical design of completing and finishing a wicked life with an hypocritical death. All these groundless objections were most probably urged by the libertines of that age, in opposition to the conclusions naturally arising against their cause, from the repentance of so eminent a member and professor of their body; and they even subsist in some measure to this day, and are too often made use of to weaken the credit and effect of Dr. Burnet's book upon that subject, written by the Earl's own direction on his death-bed.* The Dean appears to have revised and improved that book, since it concludes † almost in the exact words of his letter to Mr. Nelson of the 2d of August, that " God took pity on the Earl, and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty."

The rectory of Barnes, in Surry, being vacant in August, 1680, and in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Mr. Nelson wrote to the Dean of Canterbury in favour of Mr. Richard Kidder. This divine, sufficiently known to the world by his writings, especially his Demonstration of the Messiah, was born at Brighthelmstone, in Sussex,‡ and educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow in 1655, having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1652, and that of master, in 1656, in which he was incorporated in the University of Oxford, on the 13th of July, 1658.§ His first preferment was the vicarage of Stanground, in the county of Huntingdon, to which he was presented by his college, and deprived of it, in 1662, for not complying with the act of Uniformity.‖ But he conformed some time after, and in October, 1664, was presented by Arthur, Earl of

* Printed at London, 1681, in 8vo. The 6th edition was published in 1724.

† P. 117. 6th edit.

‡ Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. p. 513.

§ Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 123.

‖ Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 853. and Calamy's Account, p. 371.

Essex, to the rectory of Raine-parva, in Essex;* and, on the 24th of October, 1674, instituted to that of St. Martin-Outwich, in London,† to which he had been elected by the company of merchant tailors. He was installed prebendary of Norwich on the 16th of September, 1681, upon the death of Dr. Hezekiah Burton. Soon after the Revolution, in 1689, he was made dean of Peterborough in the room of Dr. Simon Patrick, advanced to the see of Chichester; and, on the 30th of August, 1691, was consecrated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, upon the deprivation of Dr. Thomas Kenn, for not taking the oaths to their majesties, and the refusal of Dr. William Beveridge to succeed in the place of the deprived bishop. He was killed with his lady in his palace at Wells, by the fall of a stack of chimnies, during the high wind on the 26th of November, 1703. The Dean of Canterbury's intimate friendship with, and pre-engagement to, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, prevented his compliance with Mr. Nelson's recommendation of Mr. Kidder. "I know not," says he in his letter to that gentleman from Canterbury, Aug. 15, 1680, "how Mr. Griffith came to understand me so well; but he made a very right judgment, when he pitched upon you, as of all men most likely to command me in any thing you should desire. And no man should have been more glad to have gratified so worthy a person, as Mr. Kidder. But the truth is, I was pre-engaged for Dr. Burton, and have written to Dr. Stillingfleet, our dean, in his behalf, though I fear without success, because I understand, that my Lord of Danby (from whom I received a letter last night) hath engaged both the Dean and Dr. Turner for Dr. Hawkins of the Tower, Dr. Layfield's ‡ son-in-law. I had a letter likewise from Sir Gabriel Roberts for Mr. Kidder, whom I should be glad to have been able to oblige. But I wrote to him, that I was pre-engaged." However, Dr. Hawkins, whose interest with the Earl of Danby might arise from his Lordship's being then prisoner in the Tower, of which the Doctor was chaplain, failed of his application for the living, which was given to Dr. Burton; but his office in the Tower giving him afterwards great opportunities of obliging the court, especially in his attendance of Mr. Edward Fitzharris, who was executed on the 1st of July, 1681, his interest became so considerable with King James II. that

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. ii. p. 480.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 414.

‡ Vicar of All-hallows Barking, and archdeacon of Essex, who died about January, 1680-1.

he obtained of his Majesty the deanery of Chichester, upon the death of Dr. George Stradling, on the 19th of April, 1688.

In this letter of the 15th of August, and some of the following ones, the Dean of Canterbury mentions Mr. de Viel as then with him; whom he patronized on account of his learning and conversion to the protestant religion. This gentleman, whose name was Lewis de Compaigne de Viel, had published, in 1679, in Hebrew, with a Latin version by himself, Catechismus Judæorum in Disputatione et Dialogo Magistri et Discipuli, scriptus à R. Abrahamo Jagel, monte Sicilis oriundo, with a Dedication to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London; and this book was reprinted at Franeker, in 1690, in 8vo. He gave the public likewise a Latin translation of, and notes upon, Rabbi Moses Maimonides's book De Sacrificiis, and his tract De Consecratione, et de ratione intercalandi, and Abarbanel's Exordium sive Proœmium in Leviticum, printed at London, in 1683, in 4to. He had published also at Paris, in 1678, the eighth book of Maimonides De Cultu Divino, with a Latin version, just before he left France, where he was the King's interpreter for the Oriental languages. He was born a Jew, but afterwards embraced the popish religion, which he at last renounced for the protestant,* and entered into the communion of the church of England, whither he retired about the year 1679. There was another learned man almost of the same name, Charles Marie de Viel, D. D. of the university of Angers, who was likewise born a Jew at Metz, in Lorraine; but, being converted to Christianity, while he was very young, became a canon-regular of St. Augustin, and prior of St. Ambrose, at Melun; which preferments he quitted, and declared himself a protestant, and took refuge in England,† where he preached among the anabaptists in 1685.‡ He had published, while he was in France, commentaries in Latin, upon the Gospels of St. Matthew and Mark, the Canticles, and the Prophet Joel; as he did one in the same language in England upon the Acts of the Apostles, printed at London, 1684, in 4to. and published there the year following in English.

The Dean of Canterbury was returned from thence to London, in October, 1680, whence he wrote on the 19th of that month to Mr. Nelson, then at Dryfield, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire,

* Bartolaccii Bibliotheca Rabbinica, tom. iii. n. 847. fol. 843.

† Id. ibid. and Bayle, Nouvelle de la Republique des Lettres, Decemb. 1684. art. xi. p. 518. and Sept. 1685, art. xi. p. 1029.

‡ Id. p. 1029.

in answer to a letter received from that gentleman the day before, in which he had mentioned a report spread to the Dean's disadvantage, with regard to some alterations, which had been made in his cathedral, and containing probably some insinuations of his disinclination to the usual ornaments in such buildings. "And now," replies he, "it is time to be sensible of the kind concernment you are pleased to express for me in your letter. Your conjecture is very right. We only took down the sun over the screen behind the communion table, which was done with so little noise, that several days passed before it was taken notice of to be removed; and nothing done besides, not so much as the table stirred out of its place. I have often heard the same, which you write, but have no great reason to be troubled, when I consider how undeserved a share of good report I have had the fortune to meet withal." In this letter he takes notice, that the Duke and Duchess of York were to begin their voyage for Scotland the next day, "upon a sudden resolution," adds he, "of the council, as seems to us. A few days will probably make much more news." Their royal highnesses accordingly left Whitehall, on the 20th of October, and embarked at Woolwich, the King being advised by his council to part with the Duke, since it would be impossible to support him during the session of the parliament, which met the day following in a temper very unfavourable to his royal highness, who was now become extremely obnoxious to the nation in general, and had been just before presented at the King's Bench bar, in Westminster Hall, as a popish recusant, by a bill in form, offered by the Earls of Huntingdon and Shaftesbury, the Lords Grey of Werk, Brandon-Gerad, Russel, and Cavendish, and several considerable gentlemen; though, by the sudden dismission of the grand jury, the matter had no consequence in the forms of the court. And the Dean himself was so deeply affected with a just apprehension of the danger of a popish successor to the civil as well as religious liberties of his country, that he could not but wish success to the Exclusion bill, which had been stopped in the preceding session of parliament in May, 1679, by his Majesty's prorogation, and was now resumed, and passed the Commons by a great majority, but thrown out at the second reading in the house of peers by sixty-three against thirty, only three of eleven bishops then present giving their votes for it, Dr. Compton, bishop of London, being one of those three. The Dean's zeal for it indeed was such, that he employed his interest with Saville, viscount (afterwards marquis) of Hallifax, to divert his Lordship

from his vehement opposition to it:* and, when the clergy of London agreed upon an address to the King, upon his Majesty's declaring in his answer of the 4th of January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, to the address of the Commons, that he could not consent to such a bill, the Dean refused to sign that address of his brethren.† He takes notice of this situation of public affairs in a letter from London of the 5th of January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, to Mr. Nelson, who had written to him from Paris, where he was just arrived. "His Majesty," says he, "and his House of Commons, still differ about the point of exclusion. They will give any thing for that, and his Majesty any thing but that." But these disputes were soon determined by a dissolution of that parliament on the 18th of that month, and of the succeeding one, summoned at Oxford on the 14th of March following, after a session of only seven days, which was the last in that reign.

In this letter the Dean congratulates Mr. Nelson upon his escape from a storm at sea, in which three merchant ships in the Downs were cast away, and his safe arrival at Paris, "which," says he, "together with the sight of the great King, must needs make amends for all the difficulties and distresses of your journey." He observes, likewise, that the comet had appeared in London very plain for several nights, with a stream much of the length described by Mr. Nelson: and he adds his compliments and thanks to his learned friend and companion, Mr. Edmund Halley. "I have not yet," says he, "received his favour; but shall be glad to see any thing of his, and much more, to be able to understand it." What Mr. Halley intended to write to the Dean was probably upon the subject of that comet, which that great astronomer first perceived in the midway between Calais and Paris, in company with Mr. Nelson, with whom he had contracted a friendship from their childhood, as himself observes in his Account of Mr. Dodwell's book De Cyclis, addressed to that gentleman, and printed in 1715, at the end of Mr. Brokesby's life of Mr. Dodwell, dedicated likewise to Mr. Nelson. This comet, one of the most remarkable which had ever been observed, and the same that appeared the year of Julius Cæsar's death, the period of its revolution being 575 years, afforded Mr. Halley an important subject of inquiry, and produced his Synopsis Cometarum, one of the most valuable of his works. For in this piece, upon the foundation of Sir Isaac Newton's principles, he reduces the path or orbit of this species of planets to a simple parabola, having the sun for one focus, in common with the

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 459. † Life, p. 17.

ellipses described by the motion of the ordinary planets; which greatly facilitates the calculation of comets, and in a single page has comprised the result of almost infinite application, exhibiting in one table the nodes, perihelia, distances, and course of twenty-four comets, the most considerable and most accurately described. He was now famous over Europe, though he was but four-and-twenty years of age at the time of his journey to France, whither he went to visit the learned; for which purpose he likewise passed thence into Italy. After his first education at St. Paul's school, and an uncommon progress, not only in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but also in geometry and astronomy, he was admitted in 1673, at seventeen, into Queen's College, Oxford; and, having at nineteen published his direct and geometrical method of finding the aphelia and excentricity of planets, his merit recommended him to King Charles II. who sent him to St. Helena, in November, 1676, to make a catalogue of the stars of the southern hemisphere, whence he returned in autumn, 1678, and was, on the 3d of December following, created master of arts, having been, on the 30th of November, elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1679 made a voyage to Dantzic, to converse with the celebrated Hevelius. The subsequent history of this excellent astronomer, mathematician, and philosopher, whose various pieces, dispersed in the Transactions of the Royal Society, and other books, would, if collected and republished, be a valuable present to the public, may be seen in the eulogy upon him by Mons. Mairan, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. His life, as well as that of his friend, Sir Isaac Newton, was extended to an uncommon age, being himself an instance of an observation, which I have often heard him make, that a studious manner of life generally contributes to a long one, by keeping a man, as he expressed it, out of harm's way.

The Dean concludes his letter to Mr. Nelson in terms, which shewed the highest regard for him. "If I were able," says he, "I need not to advise you in any thing, so well am I assured of your virtue and good conduct. I pray for you continually, that God would preserve you, and return you safe and the same to us, and give you all the advantages you expected, and will, I am sure, endeavour to make by your travels. I never knew how to part from you, but my business calls me off."

His next letter is dated from London, the 7th of March, 168$\frac{9}{1}$, in which he thanks Mr. Nelson for his two letters, and his account

of the occurrences in France; "among which," says he, "nothing pleased me better than the condescension of your great cardinal, in honouring your St. Bartholomew's fair with so secular a kind of presence and demeanour." With regard to the state of things in England at that time, which was a week before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford, he observes—"I hope our affairs are not in so deplorable a condition as they are reported at Paris. It may yet come to our turn to talk of our neighbours with as much pity, though perhaps with less pleasure. Most of our elections for the next parliament are over, almost without any drinking or expense, which is great news; and generally the same persons are chosen again." He then takes notice, "that there was little progress made the last parliament towards a reconciliation of dissenters. Two bills were brought into the House of Commons to that purpose; the one called a Bill of Indulgence, to mitigate the severity of the laws towards those who could not come into the national constitution; the other, of Union, by which the new subscriptions were to be taken away, and the ceremonies left indifferent. I never saw the bills, but this was the substance of them; which, so far as I can learn, pleased neither side. The bishops thought this too much, and the dissenters too little. I have no great hopes of any good issue of this matter, till the minds of men become more calm." The Bill for Uniting the King's Protestant Subjects, referred to in this letter, and read for the first time in the House of Commons on the 21st of December, 1680, meeting with a strong opposition there, another was brought in for exempting the protestant dissenters from the penalties imposed on the papists, by the act of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, and this passed both houses: but, on the day of the prorogation of the parliament, when it ought to have been offered to the King, for his assent, it was withdrawn by the clerk of the crown, by his Majesty's particular orders;* an offence which was moved to be inquired into in the subsequent parliament at Oxford, the sudden dissolution of which prevented that and all other inquiries.

In this letter the Dean inclosed for Mr. Halley some observations of Mr. Hill, of Canterbury, "not a learned, but a very industrious man," upon the late comet, which he told the Dean within a fortnight past, appeared then, but was very little. The postscript mentions Dr. Zachary Cradock's being elected provost of Eton College, as he was by the fellows upon the death of Dr. Al-

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 495.

lestree, in January preceding, in opposition to Mr. Waller, the poet, whose pretensions were set aside by a determination of the privy-council on the 22d of February, that no person could be provost, who was not capable of taking the care of souls. This eminent divine, who was admired in his own time for his uncommon talents of discoursing from the pulpit with the greatest copiousness and vivacity, without notes or preparation, is scarce known to the present age, except by the high character given of him by his contemporaries, and two of his sermons, one on Eccles. ix. 2, published by command of King Charles II. before whom it was preached, February 10, 167$\frac{7}{8}$; and another on 1 Tim. i. 5, intitled, The great End and Design of Christianity, printed several years after his death, from a copy said to be given by him to one of his friends. He had been educated in Queen's College, Cambridge, where he gained so universal an esteem by his learning and piety, that Dr. Cudworth wrote, on the 27th of October, 1656, in the strongest terms in his favour to Secretary Thurlow, to recommend him to the Protector, that he might be appointed chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon.* Some years after the Restoration, he was made canon-residentiary of Chichester, being installed on the 11th of February, 1669-70, and elected fellow of Eton College, on the 2d of December, 1672; and, having enjoyed the provostship about fourteen years, died on the 16th of October, 1695, in the sixty-second year of his age.†

Mr. Nelson was still at Paris in the latter end of April, 1681, whence he wrote two letters to the Dean, acquainting him with a proposal which had been made to him, for the purchase of a place at court. The offer came from Mr. Henry Saville, brother of George, Viscount Halifax, and envoy-extraordinary from the King to the court of France, and sworn vice-chamberlain of the King's household September, 1680. He was now in England, whence he had probably wrote to Mr. Nelson upon that affair, which was by no means an agreeable one to his uncle, Sir Gabriel Roberts, or to the Dean, for reasons which will appear in his answer from London, on the 28th of April, 1681. "But now," says he, "to the main business, to which I find your uncle so absolutely averse, that he did not think it fit your mother should be acquainted with it. It is well if you escape chiding from him. As for myself, than whom no person in the world can wish you better, since you are pleased

* Thurlow's State Papers, vol. v. p. 522, 523.

† Le Neve Monumenta Anglicana, from 1680 to 1699, p. 166.

to repose that kind confidence in me, as to ask my advice, I will faithfully give it. In the present uncertainty of things, I would not have you venture so considerable a sum as those places go at; and, unless somebody grow better, which I hope God will grant, the temptations, to which a man must be exposed in that station, are like to be so violent, as would set the firmest virtue hard, even my friend's, of whom I have so good an opinion. Your mother hath but just mastered the trouble of your absence, which, I understand by your aunt Hanger, was for a great while very grievous to her; and therefore you will, I am sure, be very tender of giving any new occasion. I will wait upon Mr. Saville, and make the best acknowledgments I can of his great civilities and favours to you, and let him know how your friends stand affected in this matter, to whose judgment and determination you have referred it."

He expresses in this letter his satisfaction in what Mr. Nelson had written to him concerning Mons. Claude, minister of the French protestant church at Charenton, near Paris, and one of the ablest managers of the controversy against that of Rome, which that age produced. "I am very glad," saith the Dean, "Mons. Claude hath resolved, as I think, the wiser way, though I hear he hath written to Mr. Baxter a very kind and honest letter, in which he wishes that the bishops would shew them* more favour; but withal tells him, that he cannot see how they can be acquitted of schism; which letter, I believe, they will hardly print." This seems to refer to Mons. Claude's having been consulted about that time, among other eminent French divines, by both parties, on the disputes between the church of England and the nonconformists, and particularly by the Bishop of London, to whom he wrote an answer, dated at Paris, November 29th, 1680, N. S.; which, being printed in the appendix to Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation,† at London, 1681, contrary to his design or expectation of seeing it made public, he wrote another letter‡ to a lady from Paris, April 16th, 1681, in which he farther explained his sentiments upon the subject of his former letter, condemning the excesses of both sides, and wishing they would submit to a just and reasonable accommodation.

The next letter of the Dean to Mr. Nelson, then at Saumur, was written from London, on the 2d of June, 1681, and relates to the main subject of his former, the offer to that gentleman of a place,

* The dissenters. † Page 427.

‡ Oeuvres Posthumes de Mons. Claude, tom. v. p. 264, &c.

at court. "I wish," says he, "your good opinion of my judgment were as well grounded as that of my sincere friendship and affection for you most certainly is. Your mother is perfectly well satisfied, as I told her she had great reason, since you referred yourself to the advice and judgment of your friends; by which I assured her you would most certainly govern your resolution. I shall be glad to see England so happy, as that the court may be a fit place for you to live in. I waited on the ambassador, and made the best acknowledgments to him I could of his great favours and civilities to you, and particularly in that kind offer he had made you. But I told him, that your friends had no mind to it, especially as things now are; and I knew you would do nothing against their inclination: with which he was well satisfied, declaring the very great kindness and esteem he had for you, and for your friend, Mr. Halley; in which I did not contradict him."

The sincere concern which the Dean always felt for his friends, made him neglect no opportunities of suggesting to them proper advice, when their virtue, reputation, or interest, required such an interposition: and this office he knew how to discharge with all the skill and delicacy necessary to prevent any just offence. Of this kind is the following letter, entered in short-hand in his common place book, written to Sir Thomas Colepepper, bart. of Kent, and dated July 12th, 1681.

"HONOURED SIR,

"I was heartily troubled I was from home when you did me the honour of a visit in London: and the more, because I lost the opportunity I had long wished for, of having some discourse with you in relation to yourself; being so perfectly persuaded of your good disposition, as to believe you would not take it amiss, that I, who have known you from your tender years, and being always a great well-wisher to your family, should be concerned for your welfare: and, to tell you the truth, I waited upon you at your lodgings with a design to obtain your leave, humbly to offer some advice to you, which I then forbore to do, because I could not in civility detain you so long undrest. What I could not then say, I crave leave now to write.

"I remember I said to you, that I had hoped before that time to have seen you married and settled at Canterbury. Not that I had in my mind any body to propose to you, but because I considered, that the hopes of your family rested upon you; and, if you

will give me leave to use so much freedom, that you are now in the slippery and dangerous part of life, exposed to many and powerful temptations, especially in so licentious an age: and, therefore, I should have been glad to have seen you secured against this danger by that means.

"I doubt not but you believe and consider, that after this there is another life; to secure the happiness whereof, no care, no diligence can be too great: and I have good hope that you are not yet entangled in any very bad course. But if any of the vices, to which youth is incident, have gained never so little upon you, for God's sake, and your own, resolve presently to rescue your life. Ask pardon of God for what is past, and the assistance of his grace for the future; neither of which he will deny to a sincere and well-resolved mind.

"And be pleased to consider, that the further men proceed in any thing that is bad, they put themselves so much the more out of God's protection and their own power, and their retreat must every day become more difficult. But, above all, that whatever the pleasure of sin may be, it cannot be a wise thing to please ourselves for a little while, at the intolerable price of being miserable for ever.

"You see, sir, that I am contented to venture your displeasure to prevent your danger; and yet I promise myself, that your goodness and patience will pardon the presumption of this advice, when I have told you, that it proceedeth from so much good-will, that if your own good had been to counsel you, though he would have done it with more skill, he could not have done it with more kindness. I pray God it may have the effect which I so earnestly wish. I entreat you to give my very humble service to my lady, your mother, and to believe that I am, with the greatest sincerity and respect,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful and humble servant,

"J. T."

During the course of this summer he lost one of his two daughters; upon which occasion Mr. Nelson having condoled with him in one of his letters, the Dean, in his answer from London, November 7, 1681, thanked that gentleman for his compassionate sense of his loss, "which," says he, "went very near me. But God's will is always best, and I have no doubt but she is infinitely more happy and safe, than she could have been in any condition in this

world. It hath pleased God since that, to add another great affliction, by the death of my worthy friend, Dr. Burton. About ten days ago, Mr. Gouge, another excellent man, died in his sleep, as is thought, of apoplexy. But I ought not to entertain you with such dismal things, if I had any thing better to write you from hence."

The death of Mr. Thomas Gouge called upon the Dean to perform the last duty to his memory, by preaching his funeral sermon on the 4th of November, at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, in which he has done justice to the character of that pious and charitable man, who had been vicar of St. Sepulchre's, in London, about four-and-twenty years, till he was ejected in 1662 for not submitting to the act of Uniformity. He insists with a peculiar satisfaction upon Mr. Gouge's "disposition ready to embrace and oblige all men; allowing others to differ from him, even in opinions, that were very dear to him; and provided men did but fear God, and work righteousness, he loved them heartily, how distant soever from him in judgment about things less necessary: in all which he is very worthy to be a pattern for men of all persuasions whatsoever." But Mr. Gouge's most eminent distinction was his unwearied diligence in doing good, in which he had a most singular sagacity and prudence in contriving the most effectual means for it; one branch of which was the procuring the Bible, Liturgy, Whole Duty of Man, and other good books, to be printed in the Welch language,* and dis-

* A passage in the Dean's Sermon, relating to the state of Wales at that time, having been excepted to, the reader will find a full vindication of it in the following letter of a very learned and worthy clergyman:—

"SIR,

"In the History of Wales, published by Mr. William Wynne, fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1697, p. 328, there is a passage, which, as it is not a little injurious to the memory of that excellent prelate, whose life you are writing, may deserve a remark or two, and is as follows:

["And here, by the bye, I cannot but observe what a reverend writer has lately insinuated, relating to the Christian religion planted in Wales. For that learned person, in his Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Gouge, would fain induce the world to believe, that Christianity was very corrupt and imperfect among the Welch, before it was purified by that, whom he terms 'apostolical man.' Whereas it is notoriously evident, that since the Reformation was settled in that country, and the Bible, with the book of Common Prayer, translated into the Welch tongue, no place has been more exact, in keeping to the strict rubric and constitution of the church of England, both as to the substance and form of worship.]

"I apprehend this matter may be placed in a just light, by the following short account, which I draw from good authority. Mr. Gouge, being authorized by the

persed among the people of that country; towards the impression of the first of which the Dean himself contributed fifty pounds.*

The suspicion and danger of that time prevented him from entering into a detail of facts or reasonings upon public affairs in letters, which were to travel so far as those to Mr. Nelson; and in that above cited he only says, "we are, as you left us, between hope and fear what will become of us. The Earl of Shaftesbury

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bishops of our church, and having great encouragement from the nobility and gentry of Wales, as well as from many persons of distinction in England, went into a country, where, at that time, there was great need of preaching, and where he found his own endeavours in that way to be both acceptable and useful to many of the poor inhabitants, especially in those parts where this method of instruction had for a long course of years been considerably neglected. But where there was no such need (as in several places, it is presumed, there was not), he was very well contented, as the preacher at his funeral observes, to hear others persuade men to goodness, and to practise it himself. Now this being the case, I cannot but be sorry to see it misrepresented in the passage I have cited; where the author not only shews less respect than was due to the memory of the deceased Archbishop, but gives his words a turn, of which they do not seem to be fairly capable; as may easily be discerned, on comparing what this gentleman says, with what is said in the Sermon to which he refers; wherein I cannot find any intimation, such as this writer had taught me to expect, that Christianity was very corrupt and imperfect in Wales, before the apostolical Mr. Gouge went thither to purify it. The true reason of his going thither (besides his bestowing much alms among the people) has been given above, and is more largely displayed in the Sermon itself; to which, as far as I can see, no just exception can be made, in this respect, by any critic who is inclined to be candid. And the account given of the unhappy state of religion in Wales, by the late Dr. Saunders (a very knowing and worthy native of that principality), fully justifies the sermon, and Mr. Gouge's errand. But even supposing (what need not, I think, be supposed, or at least cannot be honourably inferred from any thing which Dr. Tillotson hath said) that Christianity was indeed corrupt in some instances, and imperfect in others, within that principality, before the charitable Mr. Gouge made his journeys thither, I do not see that the historian has either disproved the supposed fact, or given any satisfactory answer to the point, by observing, that the inhabitants were very exact in their adherence to the rubrics and other constitutions of our church. The purity and perfection of Christianity doth not altogether consist in these; and both may be carried farther, by preaching, by catechising, by dispersing good books, and such other pious methods as were used by Mr. Gouge, when he travelled into those parts. So that, upon the whole, I am apt to think his charitable labours deserved a more grateful acknowledgment, and the Sermon at his funeral a less invidious treatment, than they have met with from this author; of whom I shall only say farther, that I cannot but wish he had either forborne his censure upon two such excellent men (since it was at least needless, which is the softest thing I can say), or had delivered it in terms less derogatory to characters so justly esteemed, and more expressive of that goodnature which I am inclined to expect, and always glad to find, in an ancient Briton."

* Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 50. Edit. London, 1698.

makes most discourse at present, whose trial or enlargement is expected some time this term." That Earl had been committed to the Tower on the 2d of July, 1681, for high treason; and, though the grand jury had found the bill against him ignoramus, on the 24th of November, yet he was not discharged from his bail till the 13th of February following; and in November, 1682, he retired to Holland, where he died at the age of sixty-two, on the 22d of January, 168$\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr. Nelson being returned to Paris in his way home, the Dean wrote to him from London on the 5th of July, 1682, in which letter he speaks of the situation of the public as full of distraction and discontent; and observes, that he had heard of Mons. Arnaud's book about the plot, but had not seen it: and adds, "it is much so wise a man should think fit to intermeddle in the affairs of another country, and of which he can have but a partial information." This book of Mon. Arnaud, doctor of Sorbonne, is intitled, Apologie pour les Catholiques, designed as an answer to La Politique du Clergé de France. The learned author, who still retained the utmost devotion to the church of Rome, of which he was one of the ablest advocates in his time, notwithstanding his persecutions from the Jesuits, on account of his attachment to Jansenism, which obliged him to leave France in 1679, attempts here to remove the imputation of a seditious spirit from the professors of that church, and to transfer it upon the protestants, and to demonstrate the whole popish plot in England to be the mere invention of Titus Oates.

The thoughts, which occasionally occurred to the Dean upon subjects of importance, being sometimes set down by him in short-hand in his common-place book, I find the following remarks upon Prayer, under the date of August 12, 1682.

"PRAYER.

"O thou, that hearest, &c.

"Dr. Wilkins's Natural Religion, Sermons, and Gift, &c.

"Dr. Barrow and Dr. Bright.

"Xenophon's Instit. Seneca. Tully.

"No precept of prayer in the law of Moses.

"Prayer is the most natural means of religion, which the word of God and sacraments are of.

"Prayer is the most spiritual means of religion, because it is immediate converse with God.

" Prayer is that which sanctifies all other means, and makes them effectual.

" Prayer is a natural means to work those good dispositions in us we pray for, as well as a supernatural means.

" Prayer, of all the means of religion, hath most of the end. It exercises our dependance upon God, our adoration and praise of him, and our charity to men.

" Some of the means of religion are bare and dry means: but this comes near the end, and is a good degree of it.

" That part, which consists in praise and thanksgiving, will be our great work to all eternity."

Being at Canterbury in August, 1682, he was visited there by Mr. Nelson in his return from France, to whom the Dean expressed, in his letter of the 18th of that month, great solicitude to hear of that gentleman's safe arrival in Gloucestershire, whither he went to see his mother.

Two days after the date of this letter, a calamity of the most astonishing nature happened to an ancient and noble family, for which the Dean was interested by all the motives of friendship and esteem. Ford, Lord Grey, of Werke, who had married Lady Mary, fourth daughter of George, Earl of Berkley, having gained the affection of her younger sister, Lady Henrietta, then but eighteen years of age, found means to convey her away from Durdens, near Epsom, in Surry, on the 20th of August, 1682. The Dean, upon the first knowledge of it, resolved to try what effect a strong and pathetic representation of her crime and its consequences might make on a young mind, before it should lose its sensibility by engaging too far in a habit of vice: for which purpose he wrote to her the following letter:*

" Though I have found by experience, that good counsel is, for the most part, cast away upon those, who have plunged themselves so deep into a bad course, as, to my great grief and amazement, I understand your Ladyship has done; yet the concernment I have always had for the honour and welfare of your noble family, and the compassion I have for you, whom I look upon as one of the greatest objects of pity in this world, will not suffer me to leave any means untried, that may conduce to your recovery out of that

* From a copy in Mr. Nelson's hand-writing, among the letters of Archbishop Tillotson to that gentleman, communicated to me by the late Dr. Hughes.

wicked and wretched condition, in which you are. And therefore I beg of you, for God's sake, and your own, to give me leave plainly to represent to you the heinousness of your fault, with the certain and dismal consequences of your continuance in it. And it is of that heinous nature, as to be, for aught I know, without example in this or any other Christian nation, and hath in it all possible aggravations, of guilt towards God, of dishonour to yourself, of a most outrageous injury and affront to your sister, of reproach and stain to your family, of most cruel ingratitude to as kind and indulgent parents as any child ever had; of which I am a witness, as I have since been of the deep wound and affliction you have given them, to that degree, as would grieve the heart of a stranger, and ought surely to make a much deeper impression upon you, their child, who have been the cause of it.

"Consider of it, as you will answer it at the judgment of the great day: and now you have done what you can to ruin your reputation, think of saving your soul; and do not, to please yourself, or any body else, for a little while, venture to be miserable for ever, as you will most certainly be, if you go on in this course. Nay, I doubt not but that you will be very miserable in this world, not only from the severe reflections of your own mind, but from the distress you will be reduced to, when, after a while, you will in all probability be despised, and hated, and forsaken by him, for whose sake you have made yourself odious to all the world. Before this happen, think of reconciling yourself to God, and to your best friends under him, your parents, of whose kindness and tenderness you have had that experience, that you have little reason to fear their cruelty and rigour.

"Despise not this advice, which is now tendered to you out of great charity and good-will: and I pray God it may be effectual to bring you to repentance and a better mind.

"I have but one thing more to beg of you, that you would be pleased, by a line or two, to let me understand, that you have read and considered this letter from,

"Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most faithful and humble servant,

"JOHN TILLOTSON."

It is very possible that this letter might not reach the hand of the unfortunate lady, surrounded as she was with persons entirely in the interest of her lover; who, in order to secure her more effectually to himself, married her some time after to Mr. Turner, a

dependent of his, who claimed her as his wife, when she was demanded by her father, after the trial of Lord Grey for seducing her, on the 23d of November following, when a verdict was given against his Lordship, though the matter being compromised before the next term, no judgment passed, the attorney-general entering a *noli prosequi*.* She afterwards, with her husband, accompanied his Lordship into Holland, when he fled thither in June, 1683, upon the detection of the Rye-house plot, after escaping from the serjeant, who had taken him into custody, on the 26th of that month, for high treason, and whom he left sleeping in his Lordship's own coach in their way to the Tower. His estate being forfeited, part of it was granted, on December 2, 1684, to his father-in-law, the Earl of Berkley, for the use of his wife, by whom he had only one child, a daughter. He returned to England with the Duke of Monmouth, in June, 1685; but was on good grounds suspected of treachery to his Grace, and purchased his own pardon by an ample confession. However, he recovered interest enough after the Revolution to be created Viscount Glendale and Earl of Tankerville, in May, 1695, and appointed first commissioner of the Treasury, and one of the lords-justices during his Majesty's absence in June, 1700, and lord privy seal on the 5th of November the same year; dying on the 25th of June the year following. But we have no account of the sequel of the history of his unhappy sister-in-law, whose disgrace forced her into retirement and obscurity, while her name was prostituted by one of the most licentious writers of her own sex, in that collection of letters pretended to pass between her and her gallant during the course of their criminal amour.

The Dean of Canterbury, in 1682, gave the public, from the manuscripts of Bishop Wilkins, a volume in 8vo. of fifteen sermons, which he introduced with a preface in defence of that prelate's character against the reflections cast upon him in the Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, printed in 1674, whether by Mr. Anthony Wood, whose name that work bears, or by some other hand, the Dean was not curious to know. But it is not improbable that they were inserted by the direction of Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, and dean of Christ Church, under whose inspection and patronage that book was published; and they are not unsuitable to the known prejudices of that prelate, who, though an eminent encourager of learning, and an excellent governor of his college, and of exemplary conduct in his episcopal character, yet, from a sense

* State Trials, vol. iii.

perhaps of his own sufferings before the Restoration, was capable of some excesses, in cases wherein the interests of party could bias him, as is evident from the letters which passed between him and the Earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, in November, 1684, relating to his expulsion of Mr. Locke from his student's place in Christ Church. The former part of Bishop Wilkins's character, in Mr. Wood's History, lib. ii. p. 376, is chiefly made up of invidious reflections upon his carriage, and the circumstances of his condition, in the times preceding the Restoration; "in all which," says the Dean, "because I did not then know him, I leave him to be vindicated or censured by those, who were witnesses of his whole behaviour and temper in that time." The latter part of it consists "of flat and ill-favoured commendations; as, that he was '*philosophiæ et mathematica addictissimus*,' a great well-willer to philosophy and the mathematics; the exact character of an empiric and an almanack-maker, when these two excellences happen to be in conjunction. And then, that to the study of divinity he added *eloquentiam in concionando non contemnendam*, an eloquence in preaching not to be despised: which, though it be but a very cold and slender commendation both of his divinity and eloquence, yet I must own something of kindness in it, because there is in good earnest a sort of eloquence in preaching, that is to be despised. To finish the kindness, and that nothing might be omitted that might any ways cast an odium upon him, as he is placed next before Mr. Hobbes, so I cannot but observe, in comparing their characters, that there is apparently far less of envy and detraction in that of Mr. Hobbes, than in this of the reverend Bishop, for which I can imagine no other reason but this, that Mr. Hobbes was then alive* to speak for himself; but the dead bite not." The Dean then remarks, that it had been often no small wonder to him, whence it should come to pass, that so great a man, and so great a lover of mankind, who had the inclination, the skill, and the opportunity to oblige so very many, and was so highly valued and reverenced by all who knew him, should yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy displeasure and censure of those who knew him not; and that he, who never did any thing to make himself one personal enemy, should have the ill fortune to have so many. "I think," adds he, "I may truly say, that there are, or have been, very few in this age and nation so well known, and so greatly esteemed and favoured, first by a judicious prince, and then by so many persons

* He died December 4, 1679.

of high rank and quality, and of singular worth and eminency in all the learned professions, as our author was. And this surely cannot be denied him, it is so well known to many worthy persons yet living, and hath been so often acknowledged even by his enemies, that in the late times of confusion, almost all that was preserved and kept up of ingenuity and learning, of good order and government in the university of Oxford, was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and encouragement." His inducement to the publishing of the Bishop's sermons was, because, though there be many sermons, yet there are not many such, whether we consider in them the usefulness and weight of the matters treated of; or the suitable manner of handling them in a style of so much clearness, and closeness, and strength, as was fitted (as the Bishop himself used to wish) to the capacity of the weakest, and the conviction of the strongest; or the solid and well-poised judgment of the author in points of difficulty; or, lastly, the admirable candour and moderation of his temper in matters of difference and dispute. "And I purposely," says the Dean, "mention his moderation, and likewise adventure to commend him for it, notwithstanding that this virtue, so much esteemed and magnified by wise men in all ages, hath of late been declaimed against with so much zeal and fierceness, and yet with that good grace and confidence, as if it were not only no virtue, but even the sum and abridgment of all vices. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion, that moderation is a virtue, and one of the peculiar ornaments and advantages of the excellent constitutions of our church, and must at last be the temper of her members, especially the clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm establishment of this church, and do not industriously design, by cherishing heats and divisions among ourselves, to let in popery at these branches."

The same year, 1683, Mr. Daniel Whitby, præcentor of the church of Sarum, urged the authority of our Dean in favour of a scheme, which he zealously recommended in his Protestant Reconciler, printed at London, 1683, "humbly pleading for condescension to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace; and shewing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion." The passage cited from the Dean is in his sermon on John xiii. 34, 35, preached on the 3d of December, 1678, at the first general meeting of the gentlemen and others, born within the county of York. In this sermon he remarks, that nothing can be a bulwark of suffi-

cient force to resist all the arts and attempts of popery, but an established national religion, firmly united and compacted in all the parts of it; and that little sects and separate congregations can never do it, but will be like a foundation of sand to a weighty building; which whatever shew it makes cannot stand long, because it wants union at the foundation, and for that reason must necessarily want strength and firmness. He then proceeds in the words quoted in the Protestant Reconciler.* "It is not for private persons to undertake in matters of public concernment, but I think we have no cause to doubt but the governors of our church, (notwithstanding all the advantages of authority, and we think of reason too on our side) are persons of that piety and prudence, that for peace sake, and in order to a firm union among protestants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to insist upon little things, but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity, or importunity, or perhaps in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions of those, who differ from us." In a copy of the Protestant Reconciler in my possession greatly improved throughout by the author's own hand, in the margin of this quotation from Dr. Tillotson's excellent sermon, as he styles it, Mr. Whitby has inserted some short notes, as upon the words, "it is not for private persons to undertake," he adds, "but only modestly and humbly offer;" upon the words, "we think of reason too," his remark is, "except in some few things;" and upon these, "in order to a firm union among protestants," his observation is, "at which the Protestant Reconciler only aims." But how well intended the aim was of this learned writer, whose Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament is sufficient to recommend him to posterity, even separate from his other works, which are considerable in number and value; yet his book gave such high offence at its first publication, that it was condemned by the university of Oxford on the 21st of July, 1683, and burnt by the hands of the university-marshal in the schools quadrangle; and Mr. Whitby being discovered to be the author (for he had printed it without his name) he was obliged by Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, whose chaplain he then was, to make a public retraction of it on the 9th of October following: and the same year, to remove the clamour raised against the first part of his book, he published a second, "earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full communion

* Preface, p. 19.

with the church of England, and answering all the objections of the nonconformists against the lawfulness of the submission to the rites and constitutions of that church.

The task of preparing the sermons of Dr. Barrow for the press, which had employed the Dean for several years, and cost him as much pains, as would have produced many more of his own,* was now finished, and the edition published at London, in 1683, in fol. with an account of the author, by Abraham Hill, Esq. who had been left by him joint executor with the Dean, to whom that account is addressed, as materials for a more complete life, which Mr. Hill and the public equally wished might be undertaken by a hand capable of setting so exalted a genius, and so amiable a character, as that of Dr. Barrow, in their proper light and just proportions; since, as he observes himself in the preface, the picture of that truly great man deserved to be drawn at full length for the knowledge and imitation of posterity. The narrow limits of a preface prevented the Dean from so much as even attempting the character of his incomparable friend, of whom either not a little, or nothing at all, ought to be said. He only advertises the reader therefore of some particulars relating to his sermons, which he concludes with remarking, that as they want no other kind of excellency, so particularly they are animated throughout with so genuine a spirit of true piety and goodness, that he must either be a perfectly good, or prodigiously bad man, who can read them over without being the better for them. Those sermons, which he is fullest in his commendations of, are the ten upon the vices of the tongue, and the two against pragmaticalness and meddling in the affairs of others; a subject which has an immediate connexion with the other, since that vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and almost always attended with some irregularity and indiscretion of speech. And Dr. Barrow had a peculiar right to expose faults of that kind, "being of all men, I ever knew," says the Dean, "the clearest from this common guilt, and most free from offending in word, coming as near, as is possible for human frailty to do, to the perfect idea of St. James's, 'perfect man:' so that in these excellent discourses of his, he hath only transcribed his own practice. All the rules, which he hath given, he most religiously observed himself, and was very uneasy when at any time he saw them transgressed by others in his company."

* Account of the Life of Dr. Barrow, by Abraham Hill, Esq.

The laborious office of editor of such voluminous writings as those of Dr. Barrow, undertaken by one, who had many years before appeared himself to so much advantage as an original writer, was as clear an evidence of the modesty, as it was of the friendship, of the Dean: and yet his own merit has been sometimes attempted to be lessened by a suggestion, started perhaps through envy, and propagated through haste and inadvertency, that great part of his excellence as a preacher was owing to his use of the works of his friend. But, not to insist on the prodigious difference of their manner and style, the slightest attention to the chronology of the lives of those great men is sufficient to confute such a suspicion. For Dr. Tillotson was eminent in his profession as early as the year 1663, and had given the public the first volume of his sermons in 1671, in which the first and only sermon published by Dr. Barrow appeared; the impression of that upon the Passion of our Saviour not being finished at his death. Nor had the latter leisure to apply himself thoroughly to theological studies, being engaged in those of a very different kind, till his resignation of the Lucasian professorship of mathematics at Cambridge, on the 8th of November, 1670, to his immortal pupil, Mr. Isaac Newton.

Dr. Benjamin Whichcot, vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry, dying in May of this year, 1683, in the 73d year of his age, at the house of Dr. Cudworth, master of Christ's College, Cambridge, the Dean preached on the 24th of that month a sermon at his funeral, worthy both of himself and his deceased friend; who wanted indeed no other memorial than his own writings, one volume of which, intitled Select Discourses, was published by the Earl of Shaftesbury, author of the Characteristics, in 1698, three others by Dr. John Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. Samuel Clarke.

The discovery of the Rye-house plot, in June the same year 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the Dean had a large share of distress, on account both of his friendships and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his solicitude and anxiety was William Lord Russel, eldest son of William Earl, and, after the Revolution, Duke, of Bedford. His Lordship having shewn so warm a zeal for the bill of Exclusion, which he had moved for in the House of Commons in the beginning of November, 1680, had little reason, notwithstanding the integrity of his own personal character, and the dignity and weight of his family and its connexions, to expect any favour from the court. He was committed

to the Tower, on the 26th of June, and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, on Friday, the 13th of July, where he was found guilty of high treason. The Dean appeared as a witness for his Lordship's character at his trial, declaring, that he had been many years past acquainted with him, and had always judged him a person of great virtue and integrity, and very far from any such wicked design as he stood charged with. And after Lord Russel's condemnation, the Dean and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his Lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the Dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempted, a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. This letter, which was a few days after, contrary to the writer's inclination, published to the world, as it has been often since, was in these terms:

"MY LORD,

"I was heartily glad to see your Lordship this morning in that calm and devout temper at receiving the sacrament. But peace of mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little. And because transient discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore, in tender compassion of your Lordship's case, and from all the goodwill, that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordship's deliberate thoughts these following considerations concerning the points of resistance, if our religion and rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the case, concerning which, I understood by Dr. Burnet, that your Lordship had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

"First, that the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority.

"Secondly, that though our religion be established by law, (which your Lordship argues as a difference between our case and that of the primitive Christians) yet in the same law, which establishes our religion, it is declared, 'that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms,' &c. Besides that, there is a particular law declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the king. And this ties the hands of subjects, though the law of nature and the general rules of Scripture had left us at liberty, which I believe they do not, because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon these terms.

" Thirdly, your Lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all protestant churches. And though some particular persons have thought otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of protestants. And I beg of your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of the protestants.

" My end in this is to convince your Lordship, that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake; and, being so convinced, that, which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and calls for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the reformed religion.

" I am very loth to give your Lordship any disquiet in the distress you are in, which I commiserate from my heart; but am much more concerned, that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false peace, to the hindrance of your eternal happiness.

" I heartily pray for you, and beseech your Lordship to believe, that I am with the greatest sincerity and compassion in the world,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most faithful and afflicted servant,

July 20, 1683. " JOHN TILLOTSON."

The principles of this letter were the ground of those expressions, which he used in his prayer with his Lordship on the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn fields, on Saturday, the 21st of July: " Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence, may learn our duty to God and the King." And this prayer, as well as his letter, were considered by the court as such a sanction to their favourite doctrines and measures, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was furnished with copies of them, inserted by him in his " Considerations upon a printed Sheet, intitled, 'The Speech of the late Lord Russel to the Sheriffs;'"* in which he gives an account of the Dean's pious and friendly visits to his Lordship,† and commends him‡ " for discharging himself from first to last in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend."

But what passed in his attendance upon Lord Russel, and the

* Printed at London, 1683, in 4to. p. 49, 50, 51. † Page 47.
‡ Page 48, 49.

motives and circumstances of his writing that letter, will be best learned from the Dean's own examination after the Revolution, before a committee of the House of Lords,* appointed on the second of November, 1689, to consider, who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders of the Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others; and who were the advisers of issuing out writs of *quo warranto's* against corporations; and who were their regulators; and also, who were the public asserters of the dispensing power. The Dean being summoned, among others, to attend this committee, was examined on the 18th of November, 1689, and informed their Lordships, that he wrote a letter to the Lord Russel the day before his Lordship's death, and shewed it to the Lord Halifax the evening on which he wrote it; and that he wrote it merely of himself; but did not publish it, the publication of it being much against his will; nor did he know by what order it was published. That Dr. Burnet coming from the Lord Russel had told him, that he believed he had brought his Lordship to a willingness to declare his satisfaction in that point, to which the letter relates; and desired him, the Dean, to go to the Lord Halifax, and acquaint him with it, that his Lordship might mitigate the thing to the King, and so be a means to save the Lord Russel's life. Lord Halifax promised the Dean to do it, and the next day said he had done it, and that the King seemed to be more moved with it, than by any thing else that he had said before. On the Thursday after the Dean waited on the Lord Russel, and told him, that he was very glad to hear, that his Lordship was so well satisfied on that point, hoping he would improve it to his advantage; but his Lordship's answer was, that he was not so clearly convinced in that matter. The Dean in reply told his Lordship, that he was very sorry for it, because the message had been carried to the King, that his Lordship was convinced of it, and would declare it at his death; for so he had been informed. His Lordship said, that Dr. Burnet had discoursed much with him about it, and that he was willing to be convinced, but yet could not say that he absolutely was. The Dean was much troubled at this for his own sake, as well as his Lordship's, because he had been the occasion of sending a message to the King, which seemed to contradict him. Hereupon the next day, which was Friday, he wrote the letter, which he carried with him to Lord Russel, fearing, that being so near the time of his suffering, his relations

* Journal of the House of Lords.

would be with his Lordship, and so he might not have the opportunity of speaking with his Lordship himself. But when he came, he found there none with him but his lady. He told his Lordship what he intended; that since his time was so very short, he rather chose to give him that letter, than to trouble him with a long discourse. His Lordship receiving it rose up, and went into an inner room, and, after staying there some time, upon his return told the Dean, that he had read the letter, and was willing to be convinced, but could not say, that he was so; and that it was not a time to trouble himself with politics; but that though he was in an error, yet being willing to be convinced, he hoped that God would forgive him. To which the Dean answered, that he hoped so too; and, after a little discourse of that matter, told his Lordship, he would trouble him about it no more: nor did he; but after his Lordship came out of the room, he gave the Dean his letter again; who upon leaving his Lordship went to the Lord Halifax, whom he told, that he was sorry, that he had begged his Lordship's favour to employ himself in the message to the King, not finding the Lord Russel so fully satisfied, as Dr. Burnet believed he was, though he had endeavoured to give his Lordship satisfaction in the matter, and had written a letter to that purpose, which he delivered into his own hands himself. He then shewed the letter to Lord Halifax, and just as he began to read it, one of his Lordship's servants came in, and told him, that a foreign or Spanish ambassador was coming in. Upon which the Dean told the Lord Halifax, that he must leave the letter with his Lordship. The next day, being that of the Lord Russel's suffering, the Dean attended him on the scaffold, and did not speak with the Lord Halifax till some days after; and the reason, why he applied to his Lordship before, was because he believed, that his Lordship would do the Lord Russel all the good he could. The day after that Lord's death, the Dean was commanded to appear at the cabinet-council, which he did; and there the King, the Duke of York, the Lord-keeper North, the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Halifax, the Lord Rochester, Sir Leoline Jenkins, were present. The King asked the Dean, whether he had any hand in the paper, which was published in the Lord Russel's name: to which he answered, that he had not. After which his Majesty seemed to be satisfied. The next day Mr. Roger L'Estrange came to the Dean, and told him, that he was ordered to shew him a letter, and asked him, whether it was his, or no. The Dean having given no copy of his letter, though he kept one in short-hand, de-

sired Mr. L'Estrange to read the letter, which he shewed him; and, when he read it, the Dean told him, that it was his, except two or three words which he shewed Mr. L'Estrange to alter. He believed, that copy was in that gentleman's hand-writing, and told him, that he was very sorry that it was to be published; and that, if it were in his own power, it should not. Some day in the week following, the first time he spoke with the Lord Halifax, he asked his Lordship, how his letter came to be published. To which he answered, that upon the coming out of the Lord Russel's paper, there was such a storm raised in the court against Dr. Burnet and the Dean, that his Lordship in kindness to the latter shewed the King his letter; and it passing through several hands, it became out of his power to retrieve it. His Lordship said, that he had this reason to believe, that he had left it in the King's hands, because the Duke of York that Sunday (being the day after the Lord Russel's death) at the cabinet-council spoke of this letter; but the Dean knew nothing of the publishing of it, nor by whom, nor did he speak to the Lord Halifax between the time of the delivery of the letter and the publishing of it. The Dean added, that his Lordship shewed a very compassionate concern for the Lord Russel, and all the readiness to serve him, that could be wished; and that the Lord Russel desired him, the Dean, to give his thanks to that Lord for his humanity and kindness to him, upon the Dean's informing the Lord Russel of the Lord Halifax's being so ready to carry that message to the King, which he had from Dr. Burnet.

To this examination of the Dean it will not be improper to subjoin some particulars from an original manuscript of Dr. Burnet, intitled, An Account of all that passed between the late Lord Russel and me, concerning his last Speech and Paper;* written at Lady Russel's desire, and but just finished, when he was sent for before the council the day after his Lordship's death, to be examined concerning that speech. In this account, which is the very Journal mentioned by the Doctor in The History of his Own Time;† he observes, that upon his being sent for by that Lord, on Monday, July 16th, 1683, he thought, that by the ground which he had gained in discoursing upon the subject of resistance, it would be easy to persuade his Lordship, that it was absolutely unlawful; though indeed he went no farther at first than he did at last. However, the Doctor thinking that the step which his Lord-

* Communicated to me by the Right Honourable the Lord Charles Cavendish, grandson to the Lord Russel.

† Vol. i. p. 562.

ship had made gave farther hopes, told the Dean, that he believed that his Lordship was convinced of that point. Lord Russel persisting in his former opinion, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Dean and Doctor to alter it, added to the speech, which he was composing, the following passage, not now extant in the printed copy:—"For my part, I cannot deny but I have been of opinion, that a free nation like this might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded, and taken from them, though under pretence and colour of law. But some eminent and worthy divines, who have had the charity to be often with me, and whom I value and esteem to a very great degree, have offered me weighty reasons to persuade me, that faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion, and the method of the gospel is to suffer persecution rather than to use resistance. But if I have sinned in this, I hope God will not lay it to my charge, since he knows it was only a sin of ignorance." This being read to the Dean on Friday morning, July 20th, he was sorry to find it so defective; but, not having then leisure to speak to Lord Russel of it, he returned in the afternoon, and pressed his Lordship very earnestly to deliver himself more fully in that matter, and gave him a paper concerning it; and, as he came out, meeting Dr. Burnet, desired him to urge the point home to his Lordship, and either to carry him farther, or to strike out the whole paragraph above cited, since the conclusion of it was so cold; and wished, that the first part of it might be quite left out. The Doctor accordingly discoursing Lord Russel again upon the affair, his Lordship answered, that he could not say a lie, and he was sure that the Doctor would not desire it; and he was sure, if he went farther, he must needs lie. He said that he had not leisure now to study politics. That the notion which he had of the laws, and of the English government, was different from that of the two divines; yet he said, so far did he submit to them, and to the reasons which they had offered him, that he was willing to go so far as he had done, but he could not go farther without being disingenuous. And when at last the Doctor proposed the suppressing of the whole paragraph, he was very well satisfied, and said, that his chief reason for putting it in, was to prevent any inconveniency that might arise to them.

There is another account of the occasion of the writing the letter to Lord Russel, and the circumstances of its publication, published by Mr. Echard,* who pretends it to have been taken from

* Appendix to his History of England, p. 18.

the Dean's own mouth. This will be found indeed contradictory in several points to his own examination inserted above; but as it supplies some few particulars not mentioned in that examination, especially as to what passed when he was called before the King in council, it may not be improper to give the whole here.

Two days before Lord Russel's death, Dean Tillotson going to attend upon him, was suddenly stopped in the street by Dr. Burnet, who told him, that he had now some good hope of saving his Lordship's life, the main impediment of which being his avowed principle, that resistance was in some cases lawful, he had convinced him of his mistake, and that he was ready to own his error in it. He therefore desired the Dean to go immediately to the Earl of Halifax, and acquaint him with it, who would thereupon go to the King, and use his utmost endeavours to obtain Lord Russel pardon. The Dean went, and delivered this message to the Earl of Halifax; but, calling upon Lord Russel in Newgate upon his return, was very much surprised and troubled to find him under no such conviction, as Dr. Burnet had hastily believed and reported him to be. The Dean, vexed and uneasy at what he had done, and willing to clear himself after the best manner, resolved the next day to try what he could do to bring his Lordship to some change in his opinion. But it being the last day before the appointed execution, and not knowing whether he should be able to see his Lordship alone, he wrote the letter to him, and took it in his pocket, resolving, if he could not discourse with him, to desire him to read and consider it. He, finding his Lordship alone, told him what he had done, and gave the letter to him, who read it with great deliberation, and acknowledged to him, that he had therein offered more to convince him, than he had ever met with before: that he was now satisfied that nothing but a case of a very extraordinary nature could justify subjects in taking up arms against their prince: that he was fully of opinion, that no such cause had been given by the King to justify any such attempt against him: but still he thought such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful for them to resist. Being asked by the Dean, what these cases were, he answered, that he had not considered the matter so far and fully, and that he had other things more proper to be thought on at that time. On that same evening the Dean waited upon the Earl of Halifax, to account to him what mistake he had been led into, and what he had done upon it; and, the better to justify himself, shewed him the very letter he had written to the

Lord Russel. While that Lord was reading it, Sir Thomas Clarges came in, and after a little time the Dean took leave of the Earl, putting the letter into his pocket, and promising to be answerable for it. But, in the mean time, Sir Thomas not only found opportunity to read it, but to take a copy of it; and from that copy (and it is thought by his means) it was soon after printed. On the evening of the next day, when Lord Russel was executed, the Dean was sent for to the cabinet-council, and carefully examined touching that Lord's behaviour before and at his death. The King particularly recommended the Dean's letter, and wondered what could be said to it. He told his Majesty the Lord Russel's opinion, that such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful to resist; and farther intimated, as though it was his own, that it was not impossible to find out a case of exception, though he would not presently pretend to specify it. The Duke of York, who was willing to believe there was none, with some warmth urged him to name the case; and, not being satisfied, the King more mildly said, "Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest man; press him no farther." After which he informed his Majesty, that Lord Russel had declared to him, that he was persuaded that the King had never done any thing to justify any one in rebelling against him: that he had never any such thought himself; and kept company with those unhappy men, only to preserve the Duke of Monmouth from being led into any rash undertaking by them, and more particularly the Earl of Shaftesbury. Being then asked why Lord Russel did not discover their design to the King, his answer was, that that Lord had said, he could not betray his friends, nor turn informer against them, while he saw there was no danger: but if things had come to a crisis, he would have contrived some notice to have been given the King of it; and, in case of violence, would himself have been ready to oppose them with his sword in his hand. The King himself confirmed the truth of the greatest part of this account, and in conclusion said, "James (meaning the Duke of Monmouth) has told me the same thing."

The firmness of Lord Russel, in refusing the only means of purchasing his life from an exasperated court, by the least retraction of an opinion, of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight and influence in his own time, and have endeared him to posterity, being, as Sir William Temple, no enemy to the prerogative, acknowledges,* "a person in general repute of an ho-

* Memoirs, p. 112.

nest and worthy gentleman, without tricks, or private ambition." Dr. Spratt, bishop of Rochester, in his True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against King Charles II. by whose order it was written, though not published till under his successor, has indeed described his Lordship, " as a person carried away beyond his duty and allegiance into this traitorous enterprize by a vain air of popularity, and a wild suspicion of losing a great estate by an imaginary return of popery."* But this very writer declared afterwards, in his Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset, dated March 26, 1689. that he lamented his Lordship's fall, after he was fully convinced by discourse with the Dean of Canterbury, of his great probity, and constant abhorrence of falsehood. And these were qualities, which his Lordship's excellent lady, Rachel, second daughter of that great and honest statesman, Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer after the Restoration till his death, represents as peculiarly eminent in him in her letters, of which a large collection is still extant, written with an uncommon force of style and sentiment. In one of them to Dr. John Fitz-Williams,† a divine, for whom she had a great esteem and friendship, dated July 21, 1685, a few days after the defeat and death of the Duke of Monmouth, she declares her opinion, that his Grace's design had no connexion with any, in which Lord Russel might be supposed to be engaged, and of which she was convinced he was innocent. " I take this late wild attempt," says she, " to be a new project, not depending on, or being linked in the least to, any former design, if there was then any real one, which I am satisfied was not, no more than my own Lord confessed, talk; and, it is possible, that talk going so far as to consider, if a remedy to supposed evils might be sought, how it could be formed. . . He had so just a soul, so firm, so good, he could not warp from such principles, that were so, unless misguided by his understanding, and that his own, not another's: for I dare say, as he could discern, he never went into any thing considerable, upon the mere submission to any one's particular judgment."

But whatever honour Lord Russel might gain by his inflexibility against disowning the principle of resistance, the Dean of Canterbury and Dr. Burnet have been severely censured for urging him so strongly on that topic. It is not improbable, that neither of them

* Page 21. Edit. 1685. fol.

† He had been chaplain to her father, as he was afterwards to the Duke of York, rector of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, and canon of Windsor, which preferments he left after the Revolution, upon his refusal of the oaths.

had then sufficiently considered the point, with so much attention and exactness, as the subsequent measures of that reign, and the whole series of conduct of the following one, necessarily led them to do. The Doctor indeed informs us,* that though the Dean was restrained by some particular considerations from mentioning in his letter to his Lordship the case of a total subversion of the constitution, which he thought would justify resistance; yet he did not decline to explain himself in that way, as often as there was occasion for it; and only differed from Lord Russel in opinion with regard to the attempts already made upon the constitution, which he did not think just grounds of resistance; nor that remote fears and consequences, together with illegal practices, would authorize it: whereas his Lordship declared, that upon this hypothesis "he did not see a difference between a legal and a Turkish government; and that, in a case of total subversion, it would be too late to resist." His Lordship's opinion upon the subject of resistance was justified by his chaplain, Mr. Samuel Johnson, in a paper written soon after; the impression of which was seized at the same time with his Address to King James II.'s army; though not designed to be published at that time. The design of this paper was to shew, that "resistance may be used, in case our religion and rights should be invaded," as an answer to the Dean's letter to his Lordship; and it is reprinted among Mr. Johnson's Works,† who observes, that this opinion could not be wrested from his Lordship at his death, notwithstanding the disadvantages at which he was taken "when he was practised upon to retract that opinion, and to bequeath a legacy of slavery to his country." And indeed the Dean was so apprehensive of Lady Russel's displeasure at his pressing his Lordship, though with the best intentions, upon that subject, that when he was first admitted to her, after her Lord's death, he is said to have addressed her in this manner, that he first thanked God, and then her Ladyship, for that opportunity of justifying himself to her; and they soon returned to the terms of a cordial and unreserved friendship.

In 1684, the Dean performed again the office of an editor in the publication of the first volume, followed the next year by a second, of Discourses, full of excellent sentiments in a strong, clear, and unaffected style, from the manuscript notes of his friend Dr. Hezekiah Burton, who had, by his interest with the chapter of St. Paul's, been settled in the rectory of Barnes, in Surry, about a

* Reflections, p. 38. 42. 90. † Page 159.

year before his death, which was occasioned by a malignant fever in August, or September, 1681. He had been educated in Magdalen College, in Cambridge, of which he was fellow, and an eminent tutor there, and was incorporated in the degree of master of arts in the university of Oxford, July 11th, 1654.* Entering into holy orders, he was ordained priest by Dr. Robert Sanderson, on the 13th of February, 166$\frac{9}{0}$, at the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate; † and, upon the advancement of Sir Orlando Bridgman, who had been educated in the same college, to the post of lord-keeper from that of lord chief justice of the common-pleas, upon the disgrace of the Earl of Clarendon, in 1667, was appointed chaplain to his Lordship, by whom he was presented to a prebend of Norwich, in October the same year, and to the rectory of St. George's, in Southwark, which he resigned after he was presented to that of Barnes. His great modesty prevented him from publishing any thing in his life-time, except the short Alloquium ad Lectorem, prefixed to the excellent treatise De Legibus Naturæ of Dr. Cumberland, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, who had been his fellow-collegiate and fellow-chaplain. The Dean has given us his character in the preface to the first volume of his Discourses, which, though they want the exactness, that they would have had, if they had been designed and prepared for the press by the author's own hand, yet have the perfection chiefly aimed at by him, being well fitted to do good, and to make the reader wiser and better. For Dr. Burton thoroughly understood the nature of religion, the excellent design, and the happy effects of it, where it is sincerely embraced and entertained; and he knew how to distinguish genuine and substantial piety, from that which is counterfeit and superficial. He had likewise a just and lively sense of the vast concernment and importance of religion, both to the private and public, the present and future, the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind; which made him seek out all sorts of arguments to convince them of the absolute necessity and unspeakable advantages of religion, and all kinds of motives and inducements to persuade and allure them to the practice of it; that so, by one consideration or other, he might take hold of all capacities and tempers of men. His virtues and good qualities were as eminent as his abilities and learning, particularly his great piety towards God, the native simplicity of his mind and

* Wood. Fasti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 107.

† Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 375.

manners, the singular kindness of his conversation, and his cheerful readiness to every good work. And the public sustained an irreparable loss by the death of him in the ripeness of his age, when he was capable of doing the greatest service to the church of God, "and in a time," adds the Dean, "when he was most likely to have contributed considerably to it, as being by the incomparable sweetness of his temper, and prudence of his behaviour, admirably fitted to allay those heats, which then began to break out, but are since blown up to all the degrees of a violent and implacable enmity, by the skill and industry of a crafty and restless party among us, playing upon our weakness, and persuading us to receive odious names of distinction, and to fling them like squibs and fire-balls at one another, to make the Philistines sport."

The accession of King James II. to the throne, on the 6th of February, 168$\frac{4}{5}$, was soon followed with such a prospect of danger to the religion and liberties of the nation, as filled the Dean with the deepest concern for both; though in the event the imprudence and violence of the measures pursued by that prince defeated his designs against them; a consequence foreseen by the wiser persons of his own religion. For Mons. Gourville, a man of great credit in the court of France, being asked by Madam Hamilton, afterwards Duchess of Tyrconnel, then going to England, what answer she should return for him to the King, who would ask her what he said of the great progress, which he was making for the re-establishment of the Roman-catholic religion in that kingdom, he desired her to tell his Majesty, that if himself was pope, his Majesty would have been excommunicated before that time, since he was going to ruin all the catholics in England: and though what had been lately done in France might probably be his model, yet the case was very different; and that a better plan for him to have followed would have been, to have contented himself with favouring the catholics upon all occasions, and so increasing their numbers, and to leave to his successors the task of reducing England by degrees under the papal authority. ‡

The Dean's discourse against Transubstantiation, printed towards the end of King Charles II.'s life, and of which the fourth edition appeared in 1685, began the debate upon that doctrine, and gave occasion to several tracts on both sides of the question, published during the controversy with the papists, which subsisted through the rest of the short, but unhappy reign of King James,

‡ Memoirs de Mons. De Gourville, tom. ii. p. 254. Edit. Paris, 1724, in 12mo.

and produced so many pieces, that the vast collection published a few years ago, in three volumes in folio, under the direction of Dr. Gibson, bishop of London, is only a part of those written by the protestants; and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. Wake, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Gee, dean of Lincoln and prebendary of Westminster, and the latest by Mr. Francis Peck, are defective in the titles of them. The most considerable of those published against the Dean of Canterbury's Discourses were the two following: the former intitled, Transubstantiation defended and proved from Scripture, in Answer to the first Part of a Treatise, intitled, A Discourse against Transubstantiation: the first Part; published with Allowance, London, 1687, in 4to. the second part of which never appeared. The latter was published there the same year, in the same form, under the title of An Answer to a Discourse against Transubstantiation; the author of which in his introduction says, that he thought himself obliged in Christian duty to endeavour a discovery of the Dean's winning artifices, and a removal of his plausible appearances in that discourse.

In the beginning of March 168$\frac{4}{5}$, just after the accession of King James to the crown, was published A Discourse against Purgatory, printed at London in four sheets, in 4to. This was then reported to be written by the Dean, and the translation of it gave such offence in France, that it was soon after publicly burnt there. But Mr. Wood,* who mentions, that this discourse had been ascribed to Dr. Tillotson, has placed it among the writings of Mr. John Hartcliffe.

He had now likewise a new reason for his zeal against that church, besides those of a more general and public nature; and it was founded upon this incident. His friend, Mr. Nelson, who had returned from his travels abroad in the beginning of August, 1682, had contracted there an acquaintance with Lady Theophila Lucy, widow of Sir Kingsmill Lucy, of Broxbourn, in Hertfordshire, bart. and second daughter of George Earl of Berkley; who soon discovered a strong passion for him. This concluded in a marriage after their arrival in England; but it was some time before she confessed to Mr. Nelson the change of her religion, which was owing to her conversations at Rome with Cardinal Philip Howard, who was grandson of Thomas Earl of Arundel, the collector of the antiquities, and had been raised to the purple by Pope Clement X.

* Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1130.

in May, 1675. Nor was this important alteration of her religious sentiments confined to her own mind, but involved in it her daughter by her first husband, whom she drew over to her new religion; and her zeal for it prompted her even to engage in the lists of the public controversy then depending; for she is the supposed author of a piece printed in 1686, in 4to. under the title of A Discourse concerning a Judge of Controversy in Matters of Religion, shewing the Necessity of such a Judge; a point, the full consideration of which afterwards recovered another of her own sex, and one of its greatest ornaments, Mrs. Cockburne,* from the Romish profession, into which she had been seduced in her early years. The Dean's concern for this unhappy step of Lady Theophila occasioned him, among other means of reclaiming her, to write to her a letter of considerable length upon that subject, which is unfortunately missing among the papers of her husband; but is remembered to have concluded to this purpose; that he did not doubt, but that her Ladyship was as much wearied with reading so long a letter, as himself was in writing it; and that she might imagine, that his time lay heavy upon his hands: but the truth was, that every thing, which related to Mr. Nelson, lay so near his heart, that he could not say less upon such an occasion. But the strength of her prejudices was superior to the goodness of his cause, and the abilities of so able an advocate; and notwithstanding the endeavours of Mr. Nelson, who was himself well instructed in that cause, as appears from a tract of his printed in 1687, in 4to. and intitled, Transubstantiation contrary to Scripture, or the Protestant's Answer to the Seeker's Request; yet she continued in the communion of the church of Rome till her death in 1705.

The persecution of the protestants in France, begun some years before, but now carried to its height by the repeal of the edict of Nantes, in October, 1685, was not only a fresh proof to the Dean of the genuine spirit of unrestrained popery, but an occasion of exerting his own pity and humanity towards those distressed persons, who escaped thence to England, and had the peculiar recommendation of suffering for religion. King Charles II. had, as early as the year 1682, granted briefs for collecting money for the relief of these refugees; and his example was afterwards followed by his successor, who pretended on all occasions a tenderness and moderation in matters of religion, or more probably was in this case influenced

* Life of Mrs. Catherine Cockburne, p. xxx. prefixed to the first volume of her works, printed at London 1751, in 8vo.

by motives of policy for the sake of adding industrious and useful people to his kingdom. The granting of these briefs gave the Dean an opportunity of shewing his regard for the persecuted French protestants, by promoting the contributions in their favour. And the warmth of his zeal upon this occasion is evident from an answer, which he returned to Dr. Beveridge, one of the prebendaries of his cathedral, who, from a coolness towards foreign protestants, or an unnecessary scruple with respect to forms even in affairs of weight and substance, had objected to the reading of one of these briefs there, as contrary to the rubric. The Dean's reply was short and significant, "Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics."

The friendship between the Dean and Lady Russel was cultivated by a frequent correspondence of letters during their absence, some of which will be found in the course of this Life of him. Her Ladyship had written to him in October, 1685, in which letter she mentioned the small-pox having proved fatal to a cousin of her's, a niece of her cousin-german, Mons. Rouvigny, afterwards Earl of Galway, and general of the English forces in Spain; which young lady she speaks of in another letter to Dr. Fitz-Williams of the 11th of October, as a pattern to all who knew her." The Dean's answer was as follows: *

"HONOURED MADAM, *Canterbury, Nov. 21st*, 1685.

"When I look back upon the date of your Ladyship's letter, I blush to see it hath lain by me so long unanswered. And yet I assure you no day passeth, in which your Ladyship and your dear children are not in my mind. But I know not how, in the hurry I am in, in London, one business presseth so hard upon another, that I have less time for the things to which I have most inclination. I am now for a while got out of the tumult and noise of that great city, and do enjoy a little more repose.

"It was a great trouble to me to hear of the sad loss your dear friend sustained during his short stay in England. But, in some circumstances, to die is to live. And that voice from heaven runs much in my mind, which St. John heard in his vision of the last (as I think) and most extreme persecution, which should befal the faithful servants of God before the final downfall of Babylon, 'Blessed

* From a collection of Archbishop Tillotson's letters to Lady Russel, in the possession of Edmund, late lord bishop of London, communicated to me by his Lordship's executors, the late Dr. Bettesworth, dean of the Arches, and George Gibson. Esq.

are the dead, that die in the Lord, from henceforth ;' meaning, that they were happy, that were taken away before that terrible and utmost trial of the faith and patience of the saints. But however that be, I do greatly rejoice in the preservation of your children from the great danger they were in upon that occasion, and thank God heartily for it, because, whatever becomes of us, I hope they may live to see better things.

" Just now came the news of the prorogation of the parliament to the 10th of February, which was surprising to us. We are not without hopes, that in the mean time things will be disposed to a better agreement against the next meeting. But when all is done, our greatest comfort must be, that we are in the hands of God, and that he hath the care of us. And do not think, madam, that he loves you the less for having put so bitter a cup into your hand. He, whom he loved infinitely best of all mankind, drank much deeper of it.

" I did hope to have waited upon my Lord of Bedford at my return to London; but now I doubt this prorogation will carry him into the country before that time. I intreat you to present my most humble service to his Lordship, to dear little master, and the young ladies. I am not worthy of the consideration you are pleased to have of me, but I pray continually for you all, and shall ever be, madam,

" Your Ladyship's most faithful and humble servant,

" J. TILLOTSON."

The Dean's love of truth and justice to all men, without distinction, led him, in the beginning of the following year, to do right to the character of Mr. William Penn. This gentleman, who was son of Sir William Penn, admiral in the expedition against Hispaniola, and at the taking of Jamaica, in the time of the Protector Cromwell, and vice-admiral of England under King Charles II. had some part of his education at Christ Church, in Oxford, and then travelled into France; but, joining the quakers in 1666, at the age of twenty-two, soon became one of the most considerable preachers and writers amongst them, though he is now much less known to the public by his works, reprinted in two volumes, in folio, in 1726, than by the flourishing colony, which bears his name, and was established by him in 1681. His attachment to, and favour with, King James II. soon exposed him to the imputation of being a papist in disguise, or at least of holding a correspondence with Je-

suits at Rome. The Dean's suspicions of the same kind being reported to Mr. Penn, the latter wrote immediately to him in his own justification; affirming himself to be "no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture; of the truth of which," says he, "I hold a nobler evidence, than the best church authority in the world." The result was, that he gave the Dean such satisfaction upon that head, that the latter returned him two letters expressing that satisfaction.* In the former of these, dated January 26th, 168$\frac{5}{6}$, he declares his full concurrence with Mr. Penn in abhorring the two principles mentioned by him, "obedience upon authority without conviction, and destroying them, that differ from us, for God's sake;" and he affirms, that he had endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of his life, never to abate any thing of humanity or charity to any man for his difference from him in opinion; "and particularly," adds he, "to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had the experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest."

In November, 1687, he lost another of his daughters, and the last surviving of his children, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke, Esq. by whom she left two sons and a daughter. This loss, as he observed in a letter of the 11th of that month to Mr. Nelson, then in London, deeply pierced his heart; "but I endeavour," adds he, "to do as becomes me, and as I know I ought." This misfortune probably occasioned him to retire to Canterbury, whence he wrote again to that gentleman, on the 7th of December, to return his own and his wife's thanks to him, and to those honourable persons, who, upon Mr. Nelson's motion, had been so charitable in their contributions, most probably to the French protestants in that city, since he requests him to lay out five pounds in French Bibles bound, and to desire Mr. Firmin to send them thither.

Not long after this, the Dean was seized with a disorder of the apoplectic kind; but escaped the consequences of it, without any return till that fatal one about seven years after. Under the impressions of this melancholy stroke, and the loss of his daughter just before, he was called upon himself to administer consolation to an intimate and worthy friend, Mr. Nicholas Hunt, of Canter-

* Life of William Penn, p. 126—128, prefixed to the first volume of his Works. Edit. London, 1726, fol.

bury, lingering under the apprehensions of death from an incurable cancer. This he did in a letter, which, on account of the subject, and the manner of treating it, as well as of the incorrectness of the copy of it formerly printed, cannot be omitted here.

" SIR, " *Edmonton, Jan.* 16th,* 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

" I am sorry to understand by Mr. Janeway's letter to my son, that your distemper grows upon you, and that you seem to decline so fast. I am very sensible how much easier it is to give advice against trouble in the case of another, than to take it in our own.

" It hath pleased God to exercise me of late with a very sore trial, in the loss of my dear and only child, in which I do perfectly submit to his good pleasure, firmly believing, that he always does that which is best. And yet, though reason be satisfied, our passion is not so soon appeased; and, when nature has received a wound, time must be allowed for the healing of it. Since that, God hath thought fit to give me a nearer summons of a closer warning of my own mortality in the danger of an apoplexy; which yet, I thank God for it, hath occasioned no very melancholy reflections. But this perhaps is more owing to natural temper, than philosophy and wise consideration.

" Your case, I know, is very different, who are of a temper naturally melancholy, and under a distemper apt to increase it; for both which great allowances ought to be made. And yet methinks both reason and religion do offer us considerations of that solidity and strength, as may very well support our spirits under all frailties and infirmities of the flesh; such as these:

" That God is perfect love and goodness: that we are not only his creatures, but his children, and as dear to him as to ourselves: that he does not afflict willingly, or grieve the children of men; and that all evils and afflictions which befal us, are intended for the cure and prevention of greater evils of sin and punishment; and, therefore, we ought not only to submit to them with patience, as being deserved by us, but to receive them with thankfulness, as being designed by him to do us that good, and to bring us to that sense of him and ourselves, which nothing else perhaps would have done. That the sufferings of this present time are but short and light, compared with that extreme and endless misery, which we have deserved, and with that exceeding and eternal weight of glory, which we hope for in the other world. That if we be careful to

* Another copy, which I have seen, dates it the 26th.

make the best preparations for death and eternity, whatever brings us nearer to our end, brings us nearer to our happiness; and how rugged soever the way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to our Father's house, where we shall want nothing that we can wish. When we labour under a dangerous distemper, which threatens our life, what would we not be content to bear, in order to a perfect recovery, could we but be assured of it? And should we not be willing to endure much more in order to perfect happiness, and that eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, hath promised? Nature, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be still lingering after a longer continuance here. And yet a long life, with the usual burdens and infirmities of it, is seldom desirable. It is but the same thing over again, or worse; so many more nights and days, summers and winters, a repetition of the same pleasures, but with less pleasure and relish every day; a return of the same or greater pain and trouble, but with less strength and patience to bear them. These and the like considerations I use to entertain myself withal, not only with contentment, but comfort, though with great inequality of temper at several times, and with much mixture of human frailties, which will always stick to us, while we are in this world. However, by these kinds of thoughts, death will become more familiar to us, and we shall be able by degrees to bring our minds close up to it, without starting at it. The greatest tenderness I find in myself is with regard to some near relations, especially the dear and constant companion of my life, which I must confess doth very sensibly touch me. But then I consider, and so, I hope, will they also, that this separation will be but a very little while; and that though I shall leave them in a bad world, yet under the care and protection of a good God, who can be more and better to them than all other relations, and will certainly be so to those that love him, and hope in his mercy.

"I shall not need to advise you what to do, and what use to make of this time of your visitation. I have reason to believe that you have been careful in the time of your health to prepare for the evil day, and have been conversant in those books, which give the best directions to this purpose; and have not, as too many do, put off the great work of your life to the end of it. And then you have nothing to do, but, as well as you can, under your present weakness and pains, to renew your repentance for all the errors and miscarriages of your life, and earnestly to beg God's pardon and forgiveness of them, for his sake, who is the propitiation for our sins;

to comfort yourself in the goodness and promises of God, and the hope of that happiness you are ready to enter into; and, in the mean time, to exercise faith and patience for a little while. And, be of good courage, since you see land. The storm which you are in will soon be over; and then it will be as if it had never been, or rather the remembrance of it will be pleasant.

"I do not use to write such long letters, but I do heartily compassionate your case, and should be glad, if I could suggest any thing, that might help to mitigate your trouble, and make that sharp and rugged way, through which you are to pass into a better world, a little more smooth and easy.

"I pray God to fit us both for that great change, which we must once undergo; and if we be but in any good measure fit for it, sooner or later makes no great difference. I commend you to the Father of all mercies, and the God of all consolation, beseeching him to increase your faith and patience, and to stand by you in your last and great conflict; that when you walk through the valley of the shadow of death, you may fear no evil; and, when your heart fails, and your strength fails, you may find him the strength of your heart, and your portion for ever.

"Farewell, my good friend; and, whilst we are here, let us pray for one another, that we may have a joyful meeting in another world. I rest, sir,

"Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

"J. TILLOTSON."

The re-establishment of his health kept him at Tunbridge during the usual season of the year 1688, where he had the honour of frequent conversations with the Princess Anne of Denmark, before whom he preached there on the 2d of September, on the parable of the ten virgins, in which he took occasion to expose some of the most dangerous doctrines of the church of Rome, and concluded with an exhortation peculiarly adapted to his audience in that critical situation of things, that they should take great care, not to extinguish their lamps by quitting the profession of our holy religion upon any temptation of advantage, or for fear of any loss or suffering whatsoever. "This occasion," adds he, "will call for all our faith and patience, all our courage and constancy.

"*Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.*"

Immediately after preaching this sermon he went to Canterbury,

whence, on the 6th of that month, he wrote a letter to Lady Russel in answer to one from her Ladyship. In his letter* he mentions his having left the good Princess at Tunbridge. "As for my friend," says he, "who is so mindful in the midst of his prosperity of his old friends, I beg of your Ladyship to let him know, that I have a true sense of his constant friendship. For the paper he mentions, I believe it is well received generally on both sides. For men's heats are much allayed, and they have now patience to hear of their faults, if they be told of them in a civil way, without anger or ill will, as that paper does with great skill, considering the nicety and tenderness of the subject; so that if it has not fully pleased both, it hath the good fortune to have provoked neither. It is too much, according to my mind, for me to be fit to commend it. I will only say, that it is both very artificial and very honest, two things, which seldom meet together." This paper was probably Mr. Samuel Johnson's Way to Peace among all Protestants; being a Letter of Reconciliation sent by Bishop Ridley to Bishop Hooper; with some observations upon it; licensed in July, 1688, but seized soon after the publication, by order of the Earl of Sunderland. Mr. Johnson introduces his observations on that Letter of Bishop Ridley with remarking, that as there could not be "a more blessed work than to reconcile protestants with protestants," this was the only design of his paper, by proposing the example of two protestant bishops, who wisely found out the way to put a happy period to their unhappy differences, which are the very same as have been since taken up by protestants again, after these two good men had laid them down. In the strugglings of Ridley and Hooper, there were two nations struggling in the womb, the two great parties of the conformists and nonconformists; for these two persons differed about the self-same matters, as we do now, the established ceremonies, the dress of religion, certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, which Hooper, the nonconformist, could not comply with, and Ridley, the conformist, because they were according to law, insisted upon, and would not abate."

In the month of November following, memorable for the landing of the Prince of Orange, to deliver the nation from the most imminent danger to its most important interests, and for the general defection of the King's friends, the Dean is said to have been employed in drawing up the letter sent by Prince George of Denmark, upon his leaving his Majesty at Andover, on the 24th of

* Among the collection of Lady Russel's letters. † Dr. Fitz-Williams.

that month, in the King's return from Salisbury towards London. There is only traditional evidence of this fact, but it is rendered highly probable, by the Dean's intimacy with both their Royal Highnesses, his known abilities in writing upon subjects of the greatest delicacy, which would naturally recommend his pen upon such an occasion, and the composition of the letter itself, which is exactly in his manner, and the following passage peculiarly so:— "I am not ignorant of the frequent mischiefs wrought in the world by factious pretensions of religion. But were not religion the most justifiable cause, it would not be made the most specious pretence. And your Majesty has already shewn too uninterested a sense of religion to doubt the just effects of it in one, whose practices have, I hope, never given the world cause to censure his real conviction of it, or his backwardness to perform what his honour and conscience prompt him to."

The King having withdrawn himself from Rochester into France, on the 23d of December, a few days after he had been desired, for the sake of the public peace and safety, to leave Whitehall, whither he had returned on the 16th, upon being stopped at Feversham, and where he had, according to a very unsuspected authority,* again called together about him the most violent papists, without the least regard to any men of prudence and moderation; and the Prince of Orange being settled in the palace at St. James's, the Dean was desired to preach before him there on Sunday, the 6th of January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$: and the convention, which met on the 22d of that month, having appointed Thursday, the 31st, for a day of "public thanksgiving to Almighty God," in the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distant, "for having made his Highness, the Prince of Orange, the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power;" he preached a sermon upon that occasion at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, which he published soon after, with a dedication to the Society there, in which he acknowledged himself much indebted to them

* That of the learned Mr. Henry Wharton, then chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft who, in his manuscript history and diary of his own life, written in Latin, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Calamy, containing a very odious picture of King James II.'s government, has, under the 16th of December, 1688, entered the following remark: "Rex urbem deductus est: cum more solito perditissimorum pontificiorum è latebris ad adventum ejus erumpentium satellitium acciret, iisque solis aurem præberet, exclusis cordatioribus viris, pontificiosque dimittere præfracte recusaret; Princeps *Auriacus* proceresque Regni illi urbe cedendumesse denunciarunt, et Belgarum turma stipatum *Rocestriam* deduci curarunt die 18.

for their great and continued respects to him, and kind acceptance of his labours among them, for above the space of five-and-twenty years. In this sermon, having recapitulated the several judgments inflicted upon the nation from the earliest times, and represented the greatness of their late deliverance, with the strangeness of the means by which it had been effected, and the suddenness and easiness of it, he concludes with an advice suitable to his own temper, recommending clemency and moderation; "making," says he, "as few examples of severity, as will be consistent with our future security from the like attempts upon our religion and laws. And even in the execution of justice upon the greatest offenders, let us not give so much countenance to the ill examples which have been set, of extravagant fines and punishments, as to imitate those patterns which with so much reason we abhor; no, not in the punishment of the authors of them." Another of his advices was, to be for once so wise, as not to forfeit the fruits of this deliverance, or to deprive themselves of the benefit and advantages of it by breaches and divisions among them. "As we have no reason," continues he, "to desire it, so I think we can hardly ever hope to understand popery better, and the cruel design of it, than we do already, both from the long trial and experience which we have had of it in this nation, and likewise from that dismal and horrid view, which hath of late been given us, of the true spirit and temper of it in one of our neighbouring nations, which hath long pretended to the profession of the most refined and moderate popery in the world, but hath now at last shewed itself in its true colours, and in the perfection of a persecuting spirit, and hath therein given us a most sad and deplorable instance of a religion corrupted and degenerated into that, which, if possible, is worse than none." He appears from this sermon to have been persuaded of the papists being concerned in the fire of London; observing, that there was "too much reason to believe, that the enemy did this, that perpetual and implacable enemy of the peace and happiness of our nation." And this persuasion of his is mentioned by Bishop Burnet,* who adds, that the Dean related to him a circumstance, which made the papists, employing such a crazed person as Hubert, a Frenchman of that religion, in such a service, the more credible. Mr. Langhorn, the popish counsellor at law, who for many years passed for a protestant, but was afterwards executed for the popish plot, was dispatching a half-witted man to manage elections in Kent before the Res-

* History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 230.

toration. Mr. Tillotson being present, and observing, what a sort of man he was, asked Mr. Langhorn, how he could employ him in such services. His answer was, that it was a maxim with him, in dangerous services to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but secret, and obey orders; for, if they should change their minds, and turn informers instead of agents, it would be easy to discredit them, and to carry off the weight of any discoveries they could make, by shewing that they were madmen, and so not like to be trusted in critical things.

The government being settled upon King William and Queen Mary, who were proclaimed on Ash-Wednesday, the 13th of February, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, and crowned on the 11th of April following, some of the ecclesiastical commissioners, under King James, thinking it necessary to excuse their acting under so illegal a commission, the Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire, addressed his apology, dated at Whitehall, March 27, to the Dean, who had used all his efforts in favour of his Lordship, while that commission was in question. "Nothing in this world," says the Earl, "is, or ought to be, so dear to any man as his reputation; and, consequently, the defence of it is the greatest obligation that one man can lay upon another. There are also some circumstances, that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when it is conferred generously, without any self-interest, or at least desire or invitation from the person so defended. All this happens to be my case at this time; and, therefore, I hope you will not be surprised to find I am not the most ungrateful and insensible man living; which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious concern for me about the business of the ecclesiastical commission, which now makes so much noise in the world. You have, as I am told, so cordially pleaded my cause, that it is almost become your own: and, therefore, unwilling as I am to speak of myself, especially in a business which I cannot wholly excuse; yet I think myself now a little obliged to shew, that my part in this matter, though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of so just and so considerable an advocate." He then represents, that he had been kept out of all the secret counsels of that reign, and had taken all occasions to oppose the French interest, which he knew to be directly opposite both to the King's and kingdom's good. He owns himself now as sensible of his error in sitting in the ecclesiastical commission, as he was at first ignorant of it, being so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual

court-flattery, as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that commission, before he was unfortunately engaged in it; which he was desirous to have avoided, if possible, as a troublesome employment, that had not the least temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and in which therefore he continued upon no account in the world, but to serve both King and clergy with the little ability he had, in moderating those counsels, which he thought might grow higher, if he left his place to be filled by any of those, who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill designs. Besides which, it was to be considered, that one of the important affairs which passed in the ecclesiastical court, the suspension of the Bishop of London, was done some months before the Earl was a commissioner; and the other, the incapacitating the members of Magdalen College, in Oxford, was opposed by his Lordship both in voting and speaking, with all the interest that he was able to make; and he never acted in that court after, except in restoring the Bishop of London. His Lordship adds, that he had, in his office of lord-chamberlain, filled the vacancies of the chaplainships to the King with the ablest approved divines whom he could find, most commonly recommended to him by the bishops, who were not of the court; believing, that it had been better for the King, as well as the kingdom, if the greater ecclesiastical dignities had been disposed of by others with as much caution. "And thus, sir," concludes his Lordship, "I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me, which must be acknowledged by every body an approbation of such weight, that, as I hope it may be an example of authority to many, so it is sufficient of itself to balance the censoriousness of others."

Another of the ecclesiastical commissioners, for whom the Dean interceded, and at last obtained favour, was Dr. Nathaniel Crew, bishop of Durham, a man much more considerable for his birth and station, in which indeed he lived with great hospitality, than for the firmness and consistency of his conduct. He was fifth son of John Lord Crew, to which title he succeeded upon the death of his elder brother, and was born January 31st, 163$\frac{2}{3}$. He was educated at Lincoln College, in Oxford, of which university he was proctor in 1663. In April, 1668, he was made clerk of the closet to King Charles II. and the same month dean of Chichester; and, in 1671, bishop of Oxford, from which see he was translated to that of Durham, in October, 1674. Upon the accession of King James II. to the crown, he was made dean of the royal chapel, and

sworn of the privy-council; and, in 1686, was appointed of the ecclesiastical commission, expressing his high satisfaction in it, that his name would now be recorded in history.* He was likewise commissioned, with Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough, upon the suspension of the Bishop of London, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in that diocese. In this office he was present in February, 168$\frac{6}{7}$, at the examination of Mr. Henry Wharton for orders, and, admiring the readiness of his answers, promised to make Mr. Wharton his chaplain, but broke his word with him; for which reason that learned writer, in his MS. diary of his life, speaks of him with great contempt, as a man of no veracity.† His Lordship was on all occasions so compliant with the court, that he was forward in shewing respect to the Pope's nuncio sent thither; and refused to introduce Dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, to kiss the King's hand, on account of his zeal against popery.‡ But the apprehension of the Prince of Orange's landing immediately put an end to his concurrence with the measures of King James, from whose council-board he withdrew: and the dread of the consequences of his former behaviour induced him to abscond upon the abdication of that King, in which situation he offered to compound for his offences by a resignation of his bishopric,§ particularly to Dr. Burnet, on whose generosity he would depend for an allowance of a thousand pounds a year during his life; which offer the Dr. refused.‖ The Bishop afterwards ventured out of his retreat to the convention-parliament, in order to make a merit with the new government by voting for it.¶ But their Majesties had so ill an opinion of him, that he was excepted out of the act of Indemnity, passed in 1690. However, at last, a full pardon was procured for him by the Dean, as well from his own disposition to offices of that kind, as the solicitations of his friend Dr. William Bates, the politest writer among the presbyterians of his time, who had been engaged in the Bishop's interest. His Lordship lived to the age of eighty-eight, dying Sept. 12, 1721.

During the debate in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on King William for life, the Dean was advised with

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 676.

† Levis iste ac versipellis episcopus: . . . summam levissimi viri perfidiam detestatus.

‡ General Dictionary—article, Patrick (Samuel).

§ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 822. ‖ Life of Bishop Burnet, p. 696.

¶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 822.

upon that point by the Princess Anne of Denmark, who had at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the Lady Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, accordingly took great pains to promote the Princess's pretensions. But that Lady, soon finding that all her endeavours of this kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the jacobites, were for the king, and that the settlement would be carried in parliament, whether her Royal Highness consented to it or not; and, being fearful about every thing, which the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by her Ladyship, she could not satisfy her own mind, till she had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russel, and the Dean of Canterbury. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated; and therefore carried the Dean to the Princess, who, upon what he said to her, took care that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition.*

The Dean was now admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence with the King and Queen, before the latter of whom he preached at Whitehall, on the 8th of March, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, his sermon concerning "the forgiveness of injuries, and against revenge," as he did on the 14th of April following before both their Majesties at Hampton Court, that "on the care of our souls, and the one thing needful." And, on the 27th of that month, he was promoted to an office, which required his frequent attendance near their Majesties' persons, being appointed clerk of the closet to the King.

The House of Commons having the next month appointed a fast on the 5th of June, the Dean was desired to preach before them on that occasion: but his indisposition preventing him from being able to perform that duty, the House on the 31st of May requested Dr. Tennison to supply his place, and Mr. Wake to preach before them in the afternoon of the same day.

The vacancies of some bishoprics soon turned the thoughts of his Majesty and his ministers upon the Dean for filling one of them; but this design was so far from being agreeable to him, that he used all possible solicitations to avoid it. There are extant in his common-place book the heads of a letter, which he wrote for that purpose; but these so defective, that several of the

* Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, p. 22—24.

sentences are not filled up, and some words omitted through haste or inattention. The name of the nobleman, to whom it was addressed, is not marked; but there is little doubt that it was William, earl of Portland, the favourite and confident of King William, by whom he had been created an earl, on the 19th of April, 1689. The imperfect draught of this letter has so many marks of the genius and temper of the writer, as to deserve to be perpetuated, for want of the finished letter.

"I BEG of your Lordship, who have deservedly the freedom and credit with both their Majesties, which few others have, to possess them of two things; one whereof concerns the public, and the other myself.

"1st. Of the church of England. . . . . .

"2. The other concerns myself. And I earnestly beg of your Lordship, to defend me from a bishopric. Few can believe me in this, but I hope your Lordship does. I am now upon the verge of threescore years of age. I have had great afflictions to wean me from the world, having, &c. I have had a loud summons by a fit of apoplexy above a year ago. I feel the infirmities of age growing upon me. I cannot now do that in three weeks, which, since I was fifty, I could with ease have done in three days. It is a melancholy thought to me to in a bishopric, especially in the house of peers, where there are some wise, and so many witty young men, to make observations upon an old one.—For the sake of the protestant religion and their Majesties, for whom I have so true esteem, I would take any burden upon me, which I am able to stand under. But I do not love either the ceremony or trouble of a great place.—When men are children again, it is fit they should not appear in public, but go back into the nursery.—I desire to be as useful as I can; but I do not affect to be famous. I firmly believe another world, in which I do not think I shall be happier for having been famous in this world. That little good, which I have been able to do, has been in the city of London, which I foresee will be stript of its ablest men; and, if I can be serviceable any where it is there. They, that have known me for thirty years, will best bear with my infirmities, and perhaps least discern them; because they see me every day, and the change will be insensible to them.

"I thank God I have lived to have my last desire in this world, which was this happy Revolution; and now I care for no more but

to see it established. And I have declared my sense of this great deliverance so openly, and shall always do so, that I do not fear to be suspected of sullenness and discontent for my declining preferment, which is the only objection that I can foresee.—I think it may be somewhat for the honour of our religion, and the advantage of the government, to have one so hearty for both without any expectation or desire of preferment by it. This is the only vanity I can be thought to be guilty of; and if nobody else perhaps is so willing I am contented to lie under the burden of it. And it is not inconvenient there should be an example of one, that without any visible interest wisheth well to the public, and desires to deserve well of it.—I beg of your Lordship, if there be need, as I hope there will not, to intercede for me in this particular; and the rather, because I hope nobody will prevent me in this petition, nor envy me the grant.—As of all things I would not displease their Majesties, so I am confident they would not take from me the happiness of my life . . . . . ."

Instances of this kind of self-denial will perhaps be thought rare in any age; but there was a remarkable one under Henry VIII. of another Dean of Canterbury, well known in our history by his embassies and public negociations in that and the succeeding reigns, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, great uncle of Sir Henry Wotton. This great politician, as well as divine, being informed of an intention to advance him to the mitre, wrote to Dr. Bellasis, from Dusseldorp, November 11th, 1539, requesting him, "for the passion of God, to convey that bishopric from him. So I might," adds he, "avoid it, without displeasure, I would surely never meddle with it. There be enough, that be meet for it, and will not refuse it. I cannot marvel enough, cur obtrudatur non cupienti, immo ne idoneo quidem. My mind is as troubled as my writing is. . . . . Your's to his little power, Nicholas Wotton: add whatsoever you will more to it, if you add not bishop."

But to return to our Dean of Canterbury, in August, 1689, he was appointed by the chapter of his cathedral to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of that province, devolved on himself and that body,* on the first of that month, by the suspension of the

* The Bishop of London seemed to doubt of their right to this jurisdiction; but Dr. Stillingfleet was clear in that point in his letter, which he wrote to his Lordship the 19th of August, 1689. See his Miscellaneous Discourses, p. 234. seq. Edit. London, 1735.

primate, Dr. Sancroft, for refusal of the new oaths appointed by the act of parliament of the 24th of April, instead of the former of allegiance and supremacy: and enjoined to be taken by all persons, who were in any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, in the kingdom. By the first of these, allegiance was sworn to their Majesties; by the second, the papal and foreign jurisdictions are renounced; and, by the statute, which enjoins the taking of these oaths, it is enacted, that not only such as shall from that time be preferred to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, but all others, then in actual possession of any such preferments, should take the said oaths before the first of August following, on the penalty of suspension for six months following; and that, at the end of the said six months, if they still persisted not to take the said oaths, they were *ipso facto* to be deprived. The Archbishop's example was followed by several of the bishops. Dr. Thomas, of Worcester; Dr. Lake, of Chichester; Dr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Lloyd, of Norwich; Dr. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Frampton, of Gloucester; and Dr. White, of Peterborough. His Grace had indeed early shewed his disinclination to the Revolution government, having never waited upon the King and Queen since their arrival, nor appeared in the house of peers. His chaplain, Mr. Wharton, in his diary, mentions a remarkable circumstance of his Grace's conduct on the day of their Majesty's proclamation. The Queen had sent on that very day two of her chaplains to Lambeth, to ask the Archbishop's blessing: after which they went to the chapel there, with a design to observe whether their Majesties were prayed for. Mr. Wharton, being the only chaplain of his Grace in waiting, and solicitous to do nothing that might injure his patron, consulted him upon what he should do upon that occasion. The Archbishop left him to his own discretion, declaring that he would give him no new orders; the other chaplains having before altered the prayers as they thought proper, without any command or reprehension from his Grace. Mr. Wharton therefore imagining that he might take the same liberty, and being concerned for the safety of the Archbishop, and for his own part resolved to obey that government, which Providence should establish, prayed in express terms for King William and Queen Mary. But the same evening his Grace sent for him, and in a great passion, *vehementer excandescens*, told him, that he must either omit naming the new King and Queen in his prayers, or pray no more in his chapel, since they could not be so during the life of King James.

This Mr. Wharton imputes to the suggestions of the Bishops of Norwich, Chichester, and Ely, to the great misfortune, says he, of the church; for from that time his Grace, who might easily have had every thing under his own direction, resigned so far all authority in the state, that the church on his account was afterwards exposed to extreme danger.* The Archbishop persisting in his refusal of the oaths, at the end of his six months' suspension was deprived on the 1st of February, 169$\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$, though he lived with the same splendour and attendance as before till the 1st of August, 1690, when he dismissed most of his servants, and discontinued his public hospitality. After the nomination of his successor, in April, 1691, he was warned by an order from the Queen of the 20th of May, to leave the palace of Lambeth. Before that time he had resolved to leave all his books to Lambeth Library, in which they were placed, and to that purpose had ordered Mr. Wharton to take an account of them. But thinking himself unkindly used, in being ordered to depart within ten days, he removed his books, and resolved not to stir himself, till he should be ejected by law. He was cited therefore to appear before the barons of the Exchequer upon the first day of Trinty Term, June 12, 1691, to answer a writ of intrusion: where he appeared by his attorney several times; but always cautiously avoided putting in any plea, wherein the names of the King or Queen might be mentioned, or their title owned. On Tuesday, the 23d of that month, the attorney-general moved for judgment; when his Grace's council pleaded, that according to the rules of that court, imparlance ought to be allowed till the next term; but the judges alleging, that it was in their own power to change the rules of the court, and that this was an extraordinary case, over-ruled their plea, and ordered judgment to pass, if they would not join issue that day; which the Archbishop's agents refused to do, and so judgment passed. The same day, between seven and eight in the evening, he left Lambeth, attended by his steward, Dr. Paman, master of the faculties, Fr. Nicolls, and Mr. Jacob, having not given any notice to his chaplains, nor sent for them. He took boat at Lambeth Bridge, and went to a private house in the Temple. The next morning he was waited on by his chaplains, whom he received with extraor-

* Id animi illi indiderant Episcopi Norwicensis, Cicestrensis, et Eliensis, possimo ecclesiæ fato. Hinc enim Archiepiscopas, cui facile fuisset res omnes pro libitu statuere, omnem in republicâ authoritatem usque adeo omisit, ut ecclesia ipsus causâ deinceps maxime periclitari cæperit.

dinary kindness, and caused them to celebrate Divine service before him according to the office of the day. That day, after dinner, at Lambeth, the family was dissolved by the steward: all the servants having their wages till Michaelmas following, and being dismissed with much kindness. An alms was likewise given to the poor of the parish, and a present to the curate, Mr. Clerk. On the Saturday following, the attorney-general sent a messenger to receive possession of the palace: but the steward having orders to deliver it to none besides the legal officer, refused to surrender it to him, desiring that the under-sheriff might come and receive it. The messenger accordingly departed, and within two hours brought with him the under-sheriff and the writ *ad faciendum*, &c. issued out in virtue of the conviction of intrusion; when possession was delivered to him with great civility: but the body of the steward was attached, and carried to the Marshalsea, though 10,000*l.* bail was offered: and he was kept there with design, as Mr. Wharton asserts,* of forcing the Archbishop thereby to write to the other bishops in the same circumstances, to deliver up possession without any contest, which he refused to do; and, after ten days, the steward was released upon 100*l.* bail; and, in Michaelmas term following, appeared at the Exchequer bar, where, his case being argued, he was sentenced by the judges in a fine of three hundred marks to the King, which he paid down immediately, and was dismissed. The Archbishop departed privately from London, on the 3d of August, attended only by his steward, Mr. Jacob, Mr. Nicolls, and three other servants, and arrived on the 5th at Frefingfield, in Suffolk, where he was born, and where he died November 24th, 1693, without making a will, to avoid the necessity of the probate of it before his successor, but only a deed of gift with conditions. In his last illness, and a day or two before his death, he professed to Mr. Wharton his great repentance for all sins, but more particularly for not having acted with that vigour, authority and power, in his archiepiscopal office, as the cause and state of the church might have required, and thereby having omitted to employ the means of serving the church of Christ, which God had put into his hands, to the utmost.† This condemnation of himself for not having exerted a proper vigour and spirit in his great station in the church, can scarce be understood of his conduct after

* MS. collections of Mr. H. Wharton in Lambeth Library, p. 76, *et seq.*

† Mr. Wharton's MS. collections.

the Revolution, when his utmost endeavours would not have prevented the settlement of the new government, or the submission of the clergy to it. But it may more justly be applied to his behaviour before that important event, which had been certainly less active and spirited, than the dangers and encroachments of popery required; his timidity and apprehensions of exasperating the court having restrained him from many things, which were necessary to the interests of the protestant religion at so critical a season. Of this we have one remarkable instance mentioned by Mr. Wharton in his diary, who, having translated into English Mons. Dellon's History of the Inquisition of Goa, printed at Paris in October, 1687, could not procure an *imprimatur* at Lambeth for his translation, notwithstanding his frequent solicitations.

Archbishop Sancroft was born on the 30th of January, 161$\frac{6}{7}$, and educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge, being matriculated in that university on the 3d of July, 1634, and afterwards chosen fellow of that College, next after Dr. Worthington, who was admitted April 4th, 1642.* His refusal to the engagement imposed after the death of King Charles I. occasioned his being deprived of his fellowship; upon which he travelled into France and Italy.† He published at London, in 1652, in 8vo. a small piece, intitled Modern Politics, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other Modern Authors, by an Eye-witness; and he joined with Mr. George Davenport, and another of his friends, in composing that severe satire upon Calvinism, intitled Fur Prædestinatus,‡ printed at London, in 1651; and he published Bishop Andrews's Defence of the vulgar Translation of the Bible, with a preface of his own. In the beginning of the year 1660 he was at Rome, but returned to England soon after the restoration of King Charles II.‖ and on the 8th of May that year was chosen one of the university preachers, being then bachelor of divinity.§ Upon the advancement of Dr. John Cosin to the bishopric of Durham, he was appointed chaplain to his Lordship, whose consecration sermon he preached on the 2d of December, 1660, and dedicated it to him with a Latin inscription.

* Le Neve, p. 197, 198. † Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 144.

‡ The whole title of this remarkable piece is as follows: Fur Prædestinatus · sive dialogismus inter quendam ordinis prædicantium Calvinistam et furem ad laqueum damnatum habitus. In quo ad vivum repræsentatur non tantum quomodo Calvinistarum dogmata ex seipsis ansam præbent scelera et impietates quasvis patrandi, sed insuper quomodo eadem maxime impediunt, quo minus peccator ad vitæ emendationem et resipiscentiam reduci possit.

‖ Mr. Wharton's MS. collections. § Le Neve, p. 198.

In the convocation of the year 1661, he was particularly useful in rectifying the calender and rubric,* in which he was assisted by Mr. John Pell, the celebrated mathematician;† and in March, 166$\frac{1}{2}$ he was created doctor of divinity at Cambridge, in virtue of his Majesty's letters patent of the 15th of that month for that purpose.‡ The same month he was presented by his patron to a prebend of the church of Durham, having been, on the 7th of December preceding, presented by him to the rectory of Houghton in the spring, in the county palatine of Durham; and, on the 14th of August, 1662, he was elected master of Emanuel College.|| He was advanced to the deanery of York, in January, 166$\frac{3}{4}$, which he held but ten months, and in that time expended in buildings and charges 200*l.* more than he received. He made a rental of that church, and reduced into order the accounts of it, which had been before wholly neglected. Upon his nomination to the deanery of St. Paul's, in October, 1664, the tenants of that of York, being apprehensive of the covetous temper of his successor, Dr. Robert Hitch, then designed, and earnestly desiring him to renew their leases; he absolutely refused, though the fines then offered amounted to 400*l.* After the fire of London, in 1666, he spent 1000*l.* in rebuilding the deanery house at St. Paul's, the rest of the expense being defrayed out of the money brought in from the Coal Act for the rebuilding the church and edifices of St. Paul's; which act he procured by his unwearied industry and solicitation.§ In 1668, on the 7th of October, he was admitted archdeacon of Canterbury on the King's presentation, which he held till 1670, and then resigned it. He was advanced to the archbishopric in January, 167$\frac{7}{8}$, while he was prolocutor of the convocation, being consecrated to that see on the 27th of that month.¶ His firmness in refusing, with six other bishops, to order the reading King James II.'s declaration of indulgence, did him great honour; and, in November, 1688, he excused himself from publishing an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's invasion, and concurred with other lords spiritual and temporal at the meeting at Guildhall, on the 11th of December, in a declaration to that Prince for a free parliament and due indul-

* Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson.
† Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 574. ‡ Ibid. p. 647.
|| Walker, *ubi supra*.
§ Mr. Wharton's MS. collections.
¶ Le Neve, p. 200.

gence to protestant dissenters.* But he would not submit to the new settlement of the crown. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Isaac Newton happened to be at Lambeth, when the news was brought, that the House of Commons had declared the throne vacant. Upon which the Archbishop appeared concerned, expressing his wishes, that they had proceeded in a more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child, since there was reason to believe, that he was not the same with the first, which might be easily known, as he had a mole on his neck. And after he had refused the oaths, when Mr. John Dubourdieu, minister of the French church, in the Savoy, went to take his leave of him, upon going chaplain to Duke Schomberg in Piedmont, his Grace told him, that he did not doubt, that the foreign protestants would blame his conduct; but he declared, that before he took that step, he had foreseen every thing that could be said, and even the injury, which it might do to the protestant cause; and that he was greatly concerned, and had fasted and prayed, but that at last his conscience would not suffer him to act any otherwise than he had done.† Bishop Burnet represents him,‡ as a man considerably learned, and of solemn deportment, with a sullen gravity in his looks, and a monastic strictness, and abstraction from company; dry, cold, reserved and peevish; so that none loved him, and few esteemed him. And, indeed, upon an impartial examination of his conduct and character, he will appear to have been slow, timorous, and narrow-spirited, but at the same time a good, honest, and well-meaning man. He was very laborious in his studies, and had amassed a vast collection of papers, having written perhaps more with his own hand than any person of his time.|| But the three sermons, which he published, give us a very low idea of his taste and judgment, and are more suitable to a disciple of Bishop Andrews, than a contemporary of Dr. Tillotson.

The refusal of Archbishop Sancroft to acknowledge the government of their Majesties, made it necessary to look out for a successor to him. The King soon fixed upon the Dean of Canterbury

* Upon these facts the common historians may be compared with the account drawn up by Dr. Francis Turner, bishop of Ely, published in 1717, in 8vo. in a pamphlet, intitled, A Vindication of the late Archbishop Sancroft and his Brethren the rest of the deprived Bishops, from the Reflections of Mr. Marshal, in his Defence of our Constitution.

† The two last facts are taken from the MS. notes of Mr. Des Maizeaux.

‡ Vol. i. p. 392.

|| Mr Wharton's preface to Archbishop Laud's trial.

for that purpose, whose desires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his deanery for that of St. Paul's, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the bishopric of Worcester, upon the death of Dr. Thomas. This was readily granted him in September, 1689, and he was installed on the 21st of November. It was indeed a considerable diminution of his income, as he resigned, at the same time, the residentiaryship of St. Paul's. But he chose, as has been already observed, to disburthen himself of the load and envy of holding two dignities together. Yet however satisfied he was in that situation, his Majesty would not let him rest till he submitted to a much higher post, to which he had an almost unconquerable aversion. But before the circumstances of this affair are opened, it will be proper to give a just representation of another very important one, of which he had the principal share of the trouble while it was depending, and of the odium attending the progress and event of it.

This was the scheme of a comprehension, which had been in vain attempted under the reign of Charles II. but in the succeeding one was projected and promised by Archbishop Sancroft, and his brethren, from a sense of the danger of disunion among protestants. Those of the church, who then saw the papists endeavouring to draw the dissenters to concur with them in their designs against the church of England, applied to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to make use of his interest with them for diverting them from such a concurrence; and in the letters wrote for that purpose, assurances were given, that the church was then in such a temper, and so well convinced of former errors, that if ever she escaped from her present distress, all those differences should be certainly made up.* In the articles recommended by Archbishop Sancroft to all the bishops within his metropolitical jurisdiction, on the 16th of July, 1688, containing some heads of things to be more fully insisted by the bishops in their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses, the clergy are advised "to have a very tender regard to our brethren, the protestant dissenters: that, upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, treating them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them, persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church, or, at least, that whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by

* Bishop Burnet's triennial visitation Charge, in 1704.

the same rule, and mind the same thing; and, in order thereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring them, that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcileable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies, which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. . . . And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for an universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; and that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love." The Archbishop, foreseeing some such revolution, as soon after was happily brought about, began to consider, how utterly unprepared they had been at the restoration of King Charles II. to settle many things to the advantage of the church, and what a happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such a previous care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken for the better and more perfect establishment of it. And he at the same time was considering what might be done to gain the dissenters, without doing any prejudice to the church. The scheme was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with his approbation, but likewise direction, to such divines of the church, as were thought most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one part to himself; another was committed to Dr. Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely. And the reviewing of the daily service and communion book was referred to a select number of divines, of whom Dr. Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, and Dr. Patrick, were two. The design was to improve and enforce the discipline of the church, to review and enlarge the liturgy, by correcting some things, and adding others; and, if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should come to be legally considered, first in convocation, then in parliament, by leaving some few ceremonies, confessed to be indifferent in their natures, as indifferent in their usage, so as not necessarily to be observed by such, who should make a scruple of them.*

How far this design was, not only known to, but approved by, the other bishops, appears from the petition, for which seven of them were committed to the Tower, and tried, but acquitted;

* Speech of Dr. Wake, bishop of Lincoln, at the opening of the second article of the impeachment against Dr. Sacheverel, March 17, $17\frac{0}{10}$.

wherein they declared their readiness "to come to such a temper with regard to the dissenters, as should be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation." The Prince of Orange in his Declaration, dated at the Hague, October 10th, 1688, O. S. represented, that the design of his coming was no other but to have a free and lawful parliament, that so the two houses might concur in the preparing such laws, as they upon full and free debate should judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the law concerning the test, and such other laws, as were necessary for the security and maintenance of the protestant religion; as likewise, for "making such laws, as might establish a good agreement between the church of England and all protestant dissenters, and cover and secure all those, who would live peaceably under the government, from all persecution upon account of their religion." And Mr. Wharton, in his MS. diary of his own life, mentions a discourse of Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, afterwards of Worcester, to him on the 25th of June, 1688, four days before the trials of the bishops; in which that prelate having observed, that the papists had by their injustice and tyranny so exasperated the minds of the people in general, that the latter would soon drive them out of England, and banish, or perhaps destroy the King himself, since it was impossible for popery to reign in England above a year, and that a wonderful change of things was approaching; he then said, that if himself and his brethren should escape the present rage of the papists, they were resolved to use their utmost endeavours to purge the church from all corruptions, to procure the admission of the sober and pious dissenters into the church, a thing so much wished for; to relieve even those, who were obstinate, by abolishing the penal laws; and to take entirely away the abuses of chancellors, officials, and ecclesiastical courts.*

After the Prince of Orange was come to St. James's, the dissent-

* Is fausta omnia sperare jussit, adeo plebis enim animos injustitiâ et tyrannide exacerbasse pontificios, ut omnes tumultu facto arreptisque armis, illos ex Angliâ quam citissime eliminaturi essent, regemque ipsum (quod factum nolumus) aut exilio aut nece mulctaturi. Utcunque vero fieri nullo modo posse, ut papismus in Angliâ ultra annum regnaret: miram rerum catastrophen adesse, cui si ipse sociique episcopi, præsenti pontificiorum rabie erepti, superfuerint, omni modo curaturos, ut ecclesia sordibus et corruptelis penitus exueretur: ut sectariis reformatis reditus in ecclesiæ sinum exoptati occasio ac ratio concederetur, si qui sobrii et pii essent: ut pertinacibus interim jugum levaretur, extinctis penitus legibus mulctatoriis: utque cancellariorum, officialium, et curiarum ecclesiasticarum abusus funditus tollerctur.

ing ministers in a body attending him there, his Highness assured them, that he would exert his utmost endeavours " for promoting a firm union among protestants." And, upon his establishment on the throne, when they presented their address to him and Queen Mary, Dr. Bates, in his speech to the King, upon that occasion, observed to him, " We are encouraged by your gracious promise, upon our first address, humbly to desire and hope, that your Majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom and authority, to establish a firm union of your protestant subjects in the matters of religion, by making the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformity. Our blessed union in the purity and peace of the gospel will make the church a fair and lovely type of heaven, and terrible to our antichristian enemies. This will make England the steady centre, from whence a powerful influence will be derived for the support of reformed Christianity abroad. This will bring immortal honour to your name above the triumphs of the most renowned conquerors. We do assure your Majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the terms of union, which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in his word." And in his speech to Queen Mary he said, " We humbly desire your Majesty will be pleased by your wisdom and goodness to compose the differences between your protestant subjects, in things of less moment concerning religion. We hope those reverend persons, who conspire with us in the main end, the glory of God, and the public good, will consent to terms of union, wherein all the reformed churches agree." The King in his answer assured them, that whatever was in his power should be employed for obtaining such an union; and the Queen, that she would use all endeavours for the obtaining an union, that is necessary for the edifying of the church. His Majesty, likewise, in his speech to the parliament, on the 16th of March, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, told them, that he hoped that they would make room for the admission of all protestants, who were willing and able to serve; since this conjunction in his service would tend to the better uniting them among themselves, and the strengthening them against their common adversaries.

In conformity to this desire of the King, first signified to his privy council, when the " Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths in their stead," was read a second time in the House of Lords, a select committee of that House was ordered to draw up two clauses; the one to " explain the abrogating the said oaths," the other to " take

away the necessity of receiving the sacrament, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust." But this latter clause being reported to the House, was rejected by a great majority; the Lords Delamere, Stamford, North, and Grey, Chesterfield, Wharton, Lovelace, and Vaughan, entering their dissent, and insisting, "that a hearty union among protestants was a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: that this obligation to receive the sacrament was a test on the protestants, rather than on the papists: that as long as it continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union among protestants, as had always been wished, and was at this time indispensably necessary: and, lastly, that a greater caution ought not to be required from such, as were admitted into offices, than from the members of two houses of parliament, who were not obliged to receive the sacrament, to enable them to sit in either house." This point being lost, another attempt was made in favour of the moderate dissenters, by inserting a clause in the said bill, "to prevent the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper upon any other account, than in obedience to the holy institution thereof;" and to provide, that any man should be sufficiently qualified for any office, employment, or place of trust, who, within a year before or after his admission or entrance thereto, did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, or two other credible witnesses, members of such a protestant congregation. But this was likewise rejected by a great majority, six lords, Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton, Mordaunt, Montagu, and Paget, entering their dissent.

But though these designs failed, the Toleration act easily passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the 24th of May, 1689, under the title of "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws." It excused the dissenters from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to their separate meetings. There was an exception to the Socinians; but a provision was inserted in favour of the quakers; and, though the rest were required to take the oaths to the government, they were excused upon making in lieu thereof a solemn declaration. The dissenters were to take out warrants for the houses in which they met, and the justices were required to grant them. It had been

proposed by some members of the parliament, that this act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the dissenters, that they might demean themselves so, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected, there being now so general a disposition to pass the act, as could not be expected at another time.*

Another bill was likewise under the consideration of the parliament, " for uniting their Majesties' protestant subjects;" to which some amendments being proposed in the House of Lords, and the question being put on the 4th of April, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clause about the indifferency of the posture at the receiving the sacrament? and the votes being equal, it was, according to the ancient rule in the like case, carried in the negative. The next day the Lords resumed the debate of the report of the said amendments, particularly of a clause concerning a commission to be given out by the King to some bishops and others of the clergy: and it was proposed, that some laymen should be added in the commission: upon which the question being put, the votes, including the proxies, were equal, and so it was again carried in the negative; four lords, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Mordaunt, Lord Lovelace, and the Earl of Stamford, entering their dissent with the following reasons:—1. Because the act itself being, as the preamble sets forth, designed for the peace of the state, the putting the clergy into commission, with a total exclusion of the laity, lays this humiliation on the laity, as if the clergy of the church of England were alone friends to the peace of the state; and the laity less able, or less concerned, to provide for it. 2. Because the matters to be considered being barely of human constitution, viz. the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England, which had their establishment from king, lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled in parliament, there can be no reason why the commissioners for altering any thing in that civil constitution should consist only of men of one sort of them; unless it be supposed, that human reason is to be quitted in this affair, and the inspiration of spiritual men to be alone depended upon. 3. Because though upon Romish principles the clergy may have a title to meddle alone in matters of religion, yet with us they cannot, where the church is acknowledged and defined to consist of clergy and laity; and so those matters of religion, which fall under human determination, being properly the business of the church, belong

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 10.

to both; for in what is of Divine institution, neither clergy nor laity can make any alteration at all. 4. Because the pretending, that differences and delays may arise by mixing laymen with ecclesiastics, to the frustrating the design of the commission, is vain and out of doors; unless those, that make use of this pretence, suppose, that the clergy-part of the church have distinct interests or designs from the lay-part of the same church; and this will be a reason, if good, why one or other of them should quit the house for fear of obstructing the business of it. 5. Because the commission being intended for the satisfaction of dissenters, it would be convenient, that laymen of different ranks, nay, perhaps of different opinions too, should be mixed in it, the better to find expedients for that end, rather than clergymen alone of our church, who are generally observed to have very much the same way of reasoning and thinking. 6. Because it is the most ready way to facilitate the passing the alterations into a law, that lay-lords and commons should be joined in the commission, who may be able to satisfy both the houses of the reasons upon which they were made, and thereby remove all fears and jealousies which ill men may raise against the clergy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without grounds, a distinct interest from that of the laity, whom they so carefully exclude from being joined with them in consultations of common concernment, that they will not have those have any part in the declaration, who must have the greatest in the determining. 7. Because such a restrained commission lies liable to this great objection, that it might be made use of to elude repeated promises, and the present general expectation of compliance with tender consciences, when the providing for it is taken out of the ordinary course of parliament, to be put into the hands of those alone, who were latest in admitting any need of it, and who may be thought the more unfit to be the sole composers of our differences, when they are looked upon by some as parties. Lastly, Because, after all, this carries a dangerous supposition with it, as if the laity were not a part of the church, nor had any power to meddle in matters of religion; a supposition directly opposite to the constitution both of church and state, which will make all alterations utterly impossible, unless the clergy alone be allowed to have power to make laws in matters of religion, since what is established by law, cannot be taken away or changed but by consent of laymen in parliament, the clergy themselves having no authority to meddle in this very case, in which the laity are excluded by this vote, but what they

derive from lay hands. These reasons were signed by the Marquis of Winchester, and the Lords Mordaunt and Lovelace; and the Earl of Stamford wrote under them, that he dissented for the following, as well as other reasons, because it is contrary to the three statutes made in the reign of Henry VIII. and one in Edward VI. which empower thirty-two commissioners to alter the canon and ecclesiastical laws, &c. whereof sixteen to be of the laity, and sixteen of the clergy.

Bishop Burnet, who had been consecrated to the see of Salisbury, March 31, 1689, upon the death of Dr. Seth Ward, argued warmly on the other side, imagining that the clergy would have come into the design of the bill with zeal and unanimity, and being apprehensive that the proposed amendment of the clause would be looked on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands. But he was soon after convinced that he had taken wrong measures, and that the method proposed by the lords on the other side, was the only one like to be effectual. Nor did his opposition to it so recommend him to the clergy, as to balance the censure which he fell under, for movi. g, in another proviso in that bill, that the subscription, instead of *assent* and *consent*, should be only to *submit* with a promise of conformity; and for his zeal for the other clause abovementioned, of dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament.*

While this bill and that of Toleration were depending, Mr. Locke, whose principles are well known to have been favourable to both, wrote a letter, dated March 12, $168\frac{8}{9}$,† to his friend Philip à Limborch, an eminent writer and professor of divinity among the Arminians in Amsterdam, in which he declares it as his opinion, that the episcopal clergy were no great friends to those bills, and other matters then in agitation in England; "whether," says he, "to their own or the nation's advantage, let them consider."

The bill of Union, as well as that of Toleration, had been moved for by some of the bishops, who afterwards scrupled the oaths; and they both were drawn and offered by the Earl of Nottingham, who had been appointed one of the principal secretaries of state on the day of their Majesty's proclamation; and they were the same, which had been prepared for the House of Commons in King Charles II.'s reign, during the debates of the exclusion; but then considered rather as artifices to allay the heat of that time, and to

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

† Familiar Letter between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends, p. 329, 350.

render the church party more popular.* And even now those who had moved for the bill of Union, and afterwards brought it into the house, acted a very disingenuous part; for while they studied to recommend themselves by this shew of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it; and such as were sincerely and cordially for it, were represented as the enemies of the church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill had passed the Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, it was suffered to lie upon the table;† and, instead of proceeding in it, they resolved upon an address to the King, in which they were joined by the Lords, and which was presented to his Majesty, on the 20th of April, desiring him to continue his care for the preservation of the church of England established by law; and to issue forth writs, according to the ancient usage and practice of the kingdom in time of parliament, for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters; assuring him, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to protestant dissenters. The King returned no answer till the next day, when he declared, that the church of England should always be his peculiar care; and he hoped, that the ease which they designed to dissenters would contribute very much to the establishment of the church; and therefore earnestly recommended to them, that the occasions of differences and mutual animosities might be removed; and that as soon as conveniently might be, he would summon a convocation.

The party, which was now beginning to be formed against the government, pretended great zeal for the church, and declared their apprehension that it was in danger; which was imputed by many to the Earl of Nottingham's management. These, as they went heavily into the Toleration, so they were much offended with the bill of Union, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with. Nor was that bill supported by those who seemed most favourable to the dissenters. They proceeded upon a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction in church and state; and thought, that it was not agreeable to this, to suffer so great a body as the presbyterians to be more easy, or more inclinable to the church; and that the Toleration would be best maintained when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it. This design therefore being zealously opposed, and but faintly pro-

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. † Ibid. p. 11.

moted, proved abortive.* The temper and situation of the nation, during the agitation of this affair, will appear from a conversation, related by Sir John Reresby,† governor of York, and afterwards a nonjuror, who was present, between the Marquis of Halifax, lord privy-seal, and the Bishop of Salisbury, who, a few days after their Majesties' coronation, complained highly of the slow proceedings of the House of Commons, saying, that the Dutch would clap up a peace with France, if they did not mend their pace; and observed, that the church of England was in the fault, expressing himself, as if he thought that they meant a kindness to King James by their method of procedure. The Lord Privy-Seal agreed with him in his sentiments, and added, that the church-people hated the Dutch, and had rather turn papists than receive the presbyterians among them; but that, on the other hand, these were to the full as rank and inveterate against those, and would mar all their business by their inadvertence with regard to their bill of Comprehension, and their ill-timing of other bills: in short, that they would disgust those from whom they looked for indulgence. Both his Lordship and the Bishop were angry with the Commons' address to the King the day before, desiring him to support and defend the church of England, according to his former declaration, and to call a convocation of the clergy, which the Bishop said would be the utter ruin of the comprehension scheme.

While the bill of Union was depending in parliament, Dean Tillotson, as we are informed by Dr. Nichols,‡ persuaded the King to pursue another method for accomplishing the design of it. He reminded his Majesty of the reproach often cast upon the Reformation by the papists, that it was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority; and that no handle ought for the future to be given for such an objection. That the affairs of the church chiefly belonged to synodical authority; and, if they were passed by the members of the convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiously observed by the laity. He added, that lest affairs of this nature, consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might proceed too slowly in so numerous a body, it would be best, as had been formerly done, for his Majesty to authorize, by his letters-patent, several of the most eminent of the clergy, to consider of some methods of healing the wounds of the church, and establishing a durable peace; that so

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 11. † See his Memoirs, p. 343, 344. Edit. 1735.
‡ Apparatus ad Defensionem Eccles. Anglicanæ, p. 93.

what they should agree upon being laid before a convocation, might first have their sanction, and then that of parliamentary authority. In pursuance of this advice, the King summoned a convocation, and issued out likewise, on the 13th of September, 1689, a commission to ten bishops and twenty divines to prepare matters to be considered by the convocation. It was in these terms:

"Whereas the particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those, that are in place and authority, should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient: and whereas the book of canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the church; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people: and whereas it is most fit, that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners:

"We, therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, and edification, and unity of the church of England, committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasions of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize and empower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider such other matters, as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends abovementioned."

The bishops in this commission were Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, archbishop of York, Dr. Henry Compton, bishop of London; Dr. Peter Mew, of Winchester; Dr. William Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Dr. Thomas Spratt, of Rochester; Dr. Thomas Smith, of Carlisle; Dr. Jonathan Trelawney, of Exeter; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, of Salisbury; Dr. Humphrey Humphreys, of Bangor; and Dr. Nicholas Stratford, of Chester. The twenty divines were, Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, and soon after bishop of Worcester; Dr.

Simon Patrick, dean of Peterborough, and soon after bishop of Chichester; Dr. John Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, and soon after of St. Paul's; Dr. Richard Meggot, dean of Winchester; Dr. John Sharp, dean of Norwich; Dr. Richard Kidder, soon after made dean of Peterborough; Dr. Henry Aldrich, dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr. William Jane, regius-professor of divinity in the university of Oxford; Dr. John Hall, Margaret-professor of divinity in the same university; Dr. Joseph Beaumont, regius-professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge; Dr. John Montagu, master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Dr. John Goodman, archdeacon of Middlesex; Dr. William Beveridge, archdeacon of Colchester; Dr. John Battely, archdeacon of Canterbury; Dr. Charles Alston, archdeacon of Essex; Dr. Thomas Tenison, archdeacon of London; Dr. John Scott, prebendary of St. Paul's; Dr. Edward Fowler, prebendary of Gloucester; Dr. Robert Grove, prebendary of St. Paul's; and Dr. John Williams, prebendary of St. Paul's.

About the time of passing this commission, Dean Tillotson drew up the following paper, of which there is a copy entered in short-hand into his common-place book, intitled, "Concessions, which will probably be made by the church of England for the union of protestants, which I sent to the Earl of Portland by Dr. Stillingfleet, Sept. 13, 1689.

"1. That the ceremonies enjoined or recommended in the liturgy, or canons, be left indifferent.

"2. That the liturgy be carefully reviewed, and such alterations and changes therein made, as may supply the defects, and remove, as much as is possible, all ground of exception to any part of it, by leaving out the apocryphal lessons, and correcting the translation of the Psalms, used in the public service, where there is need of it; and in many other particulars.

"3. That instead of all former declarations and subscriptions to be made by ministers, it shall be sufficient for them, that are admitted to the exercise of their ministry in the church of England, to subscribe one general declaration and promise to this purpose, viz. that we do submit to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of England, as it shall be established by law, and promise to teach and practise accordingly.

"4. That a new body of ecclesiastical canons be made, particularly with a regard to a more effectual provision for the reformation of manners both in ministers and people.

"5. That there be an effectual regulation of ecclesiastical courts,

to remedy the great abuses and inconveniences, which by degrees, and length of time, have crept into them; and, particularly, that the power of excommunication be taken out of the hands of lay-officers, and placed in the bishop, and not to be exercised for trivial matters, but upon great and weighty occasions.

"6. That for the future those, who have been ordained in any of the foreign reformed churches, be not required to be reordained here, to render them capable of preferment in this church.

"7. That for the future none be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice or preferment in the church of England, that shall be ordained in England, otherwise than by bishops. And that those, who have been ordained only by presbyters, shall not be compelled to renounce their former ordination. But because many have, and do still doubt of the validity of such ordination, where episcopal ordination may be had, and is by law required, it shall be sufficient for such persons to receive ordination from a bishop in this or the like form: 'If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee,' &c. as in case a doubt be made of any one's baptism, it is appointed by the liturgy, that he be baptized in this form, 'If thou art not baptized, I baptize thee,'" &c.

This last proposal of the Dean with respect to an hypothetical ordination of those, who were before ordained in England by presbyters, agreed with the sentiments of one of the most learned and judicious prelates of the beginning of that century, Dr. John Overal, bishop of Norwich, with regard to the ordination of the ministers of the foreign reformed church. This excellent prelate, whose correspondence by letters with Grotius is published in that useful collection, intitled, Præstantium et eruditorum virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ, was at first fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge, then master of Catharine Hall, and regius-professor of divinity in that university, promoted in the beginning of the year 160½ to the deanery of St. Paul's by Queen Elizabeth, at the recommendation of Sir Fulk Grevill, afterwards Lord Brook; and, in April, 1614, advanced to the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, from which he was translated in 1618 to that of Norwich, where he died the 12th of May, the year following. I have now before me a long letter,* containing many curious particulars relating both to Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, and this

* Communicated to me by the Honourable Sir Thomas Burnet, knt. one of his Majesty's justices of the common-pleas.

Bishop, written by Mr. John Cosin, afterwards bishop of Durham, and secretary to Bishop Overal; of whom I shall mention one fact connected with the point abovementioned, of which Mr. Cosin himself was witness. Dr. de Laune, who translated the English liturgy into French, being presented to a living, and coming to the Bishop, then at Norwich, with his presentation, his Lordship asked him, where he had his orders. He answered, that he was ordained by the presbytery at Leyden. The Bishop upon this advised him to take the opinion of council, whether by the laws of England he was capable of a benefice without being ordained by a bishop. The Doctor replied, that he thought his Lordship would be unwilling to re-ordain him, if his council should say, that he was not otherwise capable of the living by law. The Bishop rejoined, "Re-ordination we must not admit, no more than a re-baptization: but in case you find it doubtful, whether you be a priest capable to receive a benefice among us, or no, I will do the same office for you, if you desire it, that I should do for one, who doubts of his baptism, when all things belonging essentially unto it have not been duly observed in the administration of it, according to the rule in the book of Common Prayer, 'If thou beest not already,' &c. Yet for mine own part, if you will adventure the orders that you have, I will admit your presentation, and give you institution into the living howsoever." But the title, which this presentation had from the patron, proving not good, there were no farther proceedings in it; yet afterwards Dr. de Laune was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination. Mr. Cosin adds another relation to the same purpose concerning Mr. William Whittingham, who translated the 119th Psalm into metre, the initial letters of his name being still set before it. He had been ordained a minister at Geneva, in the reign of Queen Mary; and in that of Queen Elizabeth having the deanery of Durham conferred upon him,* was questioned by Dr. Sandys, archbishop of York, as having no title or capacity for that dignity, because he was not ordained a priest by a bishop. The case was therefore disputed and traversed in divers courts; but Mr. Whittingham had judgment finally in his favour, it being declared, that ordination beyond the seas was equivalent to our ordination in England: and for the better confirmation of this a bill was preferred in parliament, which passed both houses; and this statute, which was either 13 Eliz.

* July 19th, 1562, by the interest of the Earl of Leicester. The Dean died 10th of June, 1579.

chap. 8. or 8 Eliz. chap. 13. enacted, that whosoever alleged to have been ordained a minister beyond the seas, if he subscribed to the thirty-nine articles of religion, might be admitted to a benefice in the church of England. But I find the following remark, probably of Bishop Burnet, upon this last story in his Lordship's copy of the letter; that the statute pointed at was 13 Eliz. chap. 12. But in which there is in fact no indication, that the ground of it was to justify Mr. Whittingham's ordination; but most probably the business was, that whereas the ministers of the church of England had given security of themselves at their ordination, which those, who had been ordained in the reigns of King Henry VIII. or Queen Mary, or in the Lutheran churches, had not; the latter might be obliged to do the like: and that the statute had only some such aim, is evident by the determination of its force upon so sudden a date as the following Christmas. "I have looked," says the remarker, "over such reports, as I could get, and can meet with no such thing as this Whittingham's case, and therefore guess the story to be no more than tradition and hearsay. In the story there is this misadventure, that the statute 13 Eliz. could not be referred to, for Sandys was not archbishop of York until the 18 Eliz. Whittingham might retain his deanery by virtue of his letters patent, though no priest; nothing being frequenter than for dignities and prebends to be held by them, who were no priests, a long while after the 13 Eliz. even in the time of King James; and before that statute some benefices with cure had been held, as I have heard. The statute 5 Edward VI. 1. for the ordaining of priests and deacons, as well as consecrating of bishops, doth impose the same penalties on such, as use other form of consecrating, &c. as are inflicted on such, as use any other form of common-prayer. Those penalties are somewhat altered and made greater by the statute 1 Eliz. chap. 2. That statute for consecrating, &c. 5 Edw. VI. chap. 1. is confirmed in all parts, 8 Eliz. chap. 1. So then the penalties on other form of consecrating must be fetched from 2 or 3 Edw. VI. chap. 5. Edw. VI. chap. 1. and 1 Eliz. chap. 2. together with the confirmation of 8 Eliz. 1."

But to return to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commissioners, they opened their commission at the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 10th of October, 1689; but some named in it either did not appear, or soon deserted their brethren. Among these were the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the latter of whom had set in an ecclesiastical commission of a very illegal nature in the

late reign; Dr. Aldrich, and Dr. Jane. The last of these was son of Joseph Jane, of Leskard, in Cornwall, Esq; member for that borough in the long parliament, till his loyalty forced him to retire to Oxford, and afterwards abroad, where he wrote an answer to Milton's Εἰκονοκλάστης under the title of Εἰκων ἄκλαστος, or the Image Unbroken. Dr. Jane was educated at Westminster School, from whence he was elected in 1660 a student of Christ Church, Oxford, of which he was afterwards canon in 1678, and dean of Gloucester; in which dignity he was installed on the 6th of June, 1685, and held with it the præcentorship of the church of Exeter. He was the great promoter of, and had the chief hand in, drawing up the famous judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, passed in the convocation there on the 21st of July, 1683, "against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society;" which was presented on the 24th of that month in Latin and English by Dr. Robert Huntingdon, afterwards bishop of Raphoe, in Ireland, to King Charles II. in the presence of the Duke of York, and the principal persons of the court, who all shewed the highest satisfaction in it;* though this decree had afterwards the disgrace of being burnt by the common executioner, by order of the House of Lords, in 1710. Notwithstanding the principles avowed in it, Dr. Jane was one of the four sent by that university to the Prince of Orange, then at Hungerford, in his march to London, to offer his Highness their plate, which the Prince refused; but the Doctor thought his own merit so great, that he took that opportunity of asking for the bishopric of Exeter, void by the translation of Bishop Lamplugh to the archbishopric of York. But not succeeding in his request, that bishopric having been before promised to Dr. Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, he was so far disgusted, that he was ever after a secret enemy of King William and his government, though he had appeared himself so early in the Revolution.† He lived some years after Queen Anne's accession to the throne without being advanced higher in the church, dying on the 6th of February, 170$\frac{6}{7}$.

The rest of the commissioners applied themselves closely to the work assigned them for several weeks. They had before them all the exceptions, which either the puritans before the war, or the nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the

* Vita Rob. Huntingdoni, Scriptore Tho. Smith, S. T. D. p. 26.

† Life of Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, p. 55, 56.

church service. They had likewise many propositions and advices, which had been offered at several times by many of our bishops and divines, upon those heads, of which Bishop Stillingfleet had made a great collection. Matters were very well considered, and freely and calmly debated; and all was digested into an entire correction of every thing, that seemed liable to any just objection.* They began with reviewing the Liturgy; and first they examined the calendar, in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read, that were more for the people's edification. The Athanasian creed being disliked by many persons, on account of the damnatory clause, it was left to the minister's choice to use, or change it for the apostle's creed. New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the epistles and gospels for the whole course of the year, and with a force and beauty of expression capable of affecting and raising the mind in the strongest manner. The first draught of them was composed by Dr. Patrick, who was esteemed to have a peculiar talent for composing prayers. Dr. Burnet added to them yet farther force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet then examined every word in them with the exactest judgment; and Dr. Tillotson gave them the last hand, by the free and masterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the oriental languages, made a new version of the Psalms more comformable to the original. Dr. Tennison having collected the words and expressions throughout the Liturgy, which had been excepted against, proposed others in their room, which were more clear and plain, and less liable to objection. Other things were likewise proposed, which were left to be determined by the convocation; as, particularly, that the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted at the choice of the parents; and that a nonconformist minister going over to the church should not be ordained according to the common form, but rather conditionally, in the same manner as infants are baptized, when there is no evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient church, when clergymen were admitted, who had been ordained by heretics; of which manner of ordination Dr. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, had given a precedent, when he received some Scots presbyters into the church.†

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 31. and Triennial visitation Charge, ann. 1704.

† That primate of Ireland, as appears from his Life, written by John, bishop of

This abstract of the proceedings of the commissioners is said to have been communicated to Dr. Nichols* by Dr. John Williams, afterwards bishop of Chichester, who had drawn up an account of them. And the original of the alterations, suggested by these commissioners upon their review of the liturgy, was in the hands of Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, who was always cautious of trusting them out of his own keeping, alleging, that if they came to be public, they would give no satisfaction on either side, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much; while the other would justify their nonconformity, because those concessions were too little, or however not yet passed into a law.† But a more particular account of the proceedings of the commissioners, than that published by Nichols, is inserted here from Dr. Calamy.‡

The committee being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, a dispute arose about the authority and legality of the court, the Bishop of Rochester, though he had so lately acted in an illegal one, being one of those who questioned it. The grounds of this scruple were the obligations the clergy lay under by act of parliament of King Henry VIII. not to enter into any debates about making any alterations in church affairs without the King's special and immediate privacy, and direction first given concerning such alterations. It was answered, that that must be done either by an act of the King's own judgment, or by a private cabal (both which ways would be very exceptionable) or else by his Majesty's commission to a certain number of ecclesiastics to consult about, and prepare what was necessary to be altered, as it was in the present case. For moreover the commissioners pretended not to make these alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the convocation, the very reports being not so much as to be referred to the privy council, lest they might be subject

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Limerick, and prefixed to his Grace's works, printed at Dublin, in 1677, in folio, inserted these words, in the letters of orders, which he gave to Mr. Edward Parkinson: *Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem eorundum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid priùs defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut Schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur. In cujus rei testimonium,* &c.

* Apparat. p. 95, 96. † Kennet's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 591. Note *d*.

‡ Abridgment of the Life of Mr. R. Baxter, p. 452—455.

to be canvassed and cooked by lay-hands. However, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldrich, withdrew dissatisfied; and the rest, after a list of all that seemed fit to be changed, was read over, proceeded very unanimously, and without any heats, in determining, as follows (each article, as soon as agreed on, being signed by the Bishop of London), viz.

That the chaunting of Divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people.

That besides the Psalms, being read in their course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

That the apocryphal lessons, and those of the Old Testament, which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their stead by a new calendar; which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary saints' days, and others not directly referred to in the service book.

That not to send the vulgar to search the canons, which few of them ever saw, a rubric be made, setting forth the usefulness of the cross in baptism, not as an essential part of that sacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony. However, if any do, after all, in conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the priest.

That likewise if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made, declaring the intention of the Lent fasts to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats: and another to state the meaning of Rogation Sundays and Ember weeks; and appoint, that those ordained within the Quatuor Tempora, do exercise strict devotion.

That the rubric, which obliged ministers to read or hear common prayer publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers.

That the absolution in morning and evening prayer may be read by a deacon, the word *priest* in the rubric being changed into *minister*, and those words, "and remission," be put out, as not very intelligible.

That the Gloria Patri shall not be repeated at the end of every psalm, but of all appointed for morning and evening prayer.

That those words in the Te Deum, "thine honourable, true, and only Son," be thus turned, "thine only begotten Son," *honourable* being only a civil term, and no where used *in sacris*.

The Benedicite shall be changed into the 128th Psalm, and other psalms likewise appointed for the Benedictus and Nunc dimittis.

The Versicles after the Lord's Prayer, &c. shall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of so often varying postures in the worship. And after those words, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," shall follow an answer promissory of somewhat on the people's part, of keeping God's law, or the like; the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine, taken in too strict an acceptation.

All high titles or appellations of the king, queen, &c. shall be left out of the prayers, such as most illustrious, religious, mighty, &c. and only the word sovereign returned for the king and queen.

Those words in the prayer for the king, "Grant that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies," is of too large an extent, if the king engage in an unjust war, shall be turned thus, "Prosper all his righteous undertakings against thy enemies," or after some such manner.

Those words in the prayer for the clergy, "Who alone workest great marvels," as subject to be ill interpreted by persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, "Who alone art the author of all good gifts;" and these words, "the healthful Spirit of thy grace," shall "be the holy Spirit of thy grace," healthful, being an obsolete word.

The prayer which begins, "O God, whose nature and property," shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand.*

The Collects, for the most part are to be changed for those which the Bishop of Chichester has prepared, being a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what expressions are needless to be retrenched.

* Dr. Nichols in his Commentary affirms, that this prayer was first brought into the Liturgy in the first of King James I. But Mr. Wheatley asserts, that it was inserted in the Common Prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth. It was at first placed just after the prayer In the Time of any common Plague or Sickness (that being the last of the Prayers on particular Occasions); but, at the review of the Common Prayer after the Restoration, the two prayers for the Ember weeks were inserted just after that, and the prayer in question immediately followed them. The printers indeed set it where it now usually stands, between the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving: but the commissioners obliged them to print a new leaf, wherein it should stand just before the prayer for the parliament. Notwithstanding which the order has been neglected in all the subsequent editions.

If any minister refuse the surplice, the bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place, that will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the bishops.

If any desire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted.

About the Athanasian Creed, they came at last to this conclusion, that lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric shall be made, setting forth, or declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general.*

Whether the amendment of the translation of the reading psalms (as they are called) made by the Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Kidder, or that in the Bible, shall be inserted in the Prayer Book, is wholly left to the convocation to consider of and determine.

Several alterations were made in the Litany, Communion Service, &c.

Such were the proceedings of the commissioners, which had been protested against by their brethren, who had left them immediately after their first meeting, with a declaration, that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought, that too much had been already done for the dissenters, in the toleration which was granted them, and would do nothing to make them still easier. They said farther, that the altering of the customs and constitutions of our church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more insolent;

* This article is not very consistent with Dr. Nichols' account inserted above: but that given by Dr. Calamy is the true one; for Dr. Waterland in the postscript to the second edition of his Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, printed at Cambridge, in 1728, has given us the following copy of the rubric relating to that creed, as it was settled and finally agreed on by the commissioners in 1689, communicated to him from the original books, then in the possession of Dr. Gibson, bishop of London.

"Upon these feasts, Christmas-day, Easter-day, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and upon All Saints, shall be said at morning prayer, by the minister and people standing, instead of the creed, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, the confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius: the articles of which ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: and the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those, who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith.

as if the church, by offering these alterations, seemed to confess, that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They were of opinion, that this attempt would divide the church, and make the people lose their esteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. They excepted also to the manner of preparing matters, by a special commission, as limiting the convocation, and imposing upon it; and to load this with a word of an ill sound, they called this a new ecclesiastical commission. But in answer to all this it was said, that if by a few corrections and explanations, all just satisfaction were offered to the chief objections of the dissenters, there was reason to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at least of the people, if not of the teachers among them: or, if the prejudices of education wrought too strongly upon the present age, yet if some more sensible objections were put out of the way, it might well be hoped, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If these condescensions were made so, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the nonconformists had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the church: but such offers being made only in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the church, who shewed herself a true mother by her care to preserve her children. That it was not offered, that the ordinary posture of receiving the sacrament kneeling should be changed; this being still to be the received and favoured posture; but that only such, as declared that they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be so; and all the necessity of them arose only from the authority in church and state, which had enacted them. It would therefore be an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatement or yielding in such matters, in order to the healing of the church's wounds. Great alterations had been made in such things in all ages of the church. Even the church of Rome was still making some alterations in her rituals. And changes had been made among ourselves often since the Reformation, in the reigns of King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and King Charles II. These were always made upon some great turn, critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The toleration now granted seemed to render it more necessary than formerly, to make the terms of communion with the church as large as might be, in order to draw over to it the greater number from those, who might now leave it more safely;

and, therefore, the more care was to be used for the gaining them. And, with regard to the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's supremacy signified little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters, as he might think fit to lay before the convocation. This no way broke in upon their full freedom of debate, it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the propositions that should be offered to them.*

But while this important affair was thus argued, the party, which was now at work for the abdicated King, took hold on this occasion to inflame men's minds. It was pretended, that the church was to be demolished, and presbytery set up: that all this now in debate was only intended to divide and distract the church, and to render it by that means both weaker and more ridiculous, while it departed from its former grounds, in offering such concessions. The universities took fire upon this, and began to declare against it, and against all who promoted it, as men who intended to undermine the church. Severe reflections were likewise cast on the King, as being in an interest contrary to the church; for the church was the word given out by the jacobite party, under which they thought they might more safely shelter themselves. Great canvassings were every where in the election of members of the convocation, a thing not known in former times; so that it was soon very visible, that the temper of men was not cool or calm enough to encourage the farther prosecution of such a design.†

Those who were friends to it designed Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, for prolocutor of the lower house; and the court was solicitous for the choice of him, from a persuasion, that his singular moderation and prudence in that chair would be able to influence that house to concur in promoting those ends for which the convocation was called. He was accordingly proposed by Dr. Sharp,‡ his successor in the deanery of Canterbury, upon the meeting of the convocation, on Thursday, November 21st, 1689: but it was carried by a majority of two to one for Dr. Jane, the choice of whom is said to have been owing, not only to the general temper of the clergy, but likewise to the intrigues of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, who, on account of their near relation to the Queen, whose mother was their sister, expected, when the government was settled on King William and her Majesty, to have had

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 32. † Ibid. p. 32, 33.

‡ Letter to me from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberl and dated at Durham, November 7, 1751.

some of the higher employments under it. But, being disappointed, they, from resentment, endeavoured to perplex and embarrass it, and, among other schemes for that purpose, set themselves to defeat whatever was intended to be done by the convocation, and accordingly went to Oxford, where they found Dr. Jane prepared for their views, by his own disappointment and ambition, as well as by his principles; whom having engaged to stand in competition against the Dean of St. Paul's, they supported him in it by all their interest.*

But, besides these, there was another more secret cause of the opposition to the Dean of St. Paul's, and of the clamour raised on his account, both before and in the convocation, which will appear from a letter of his to be produced hereafter. This took its rise from the Bishop of London's jealousy of the Dean's being intended by the King for the archbishopric of Canterbury, which himself had once before been disappointed of, when Dr. Sancroft was promoted to it, and which he now seemed to claim as due to his conduct before, and especially at the Revolution, as well as to his rank and family, being the sixth and youngest son of Spencer, earl of Northampton, who fell in an engagement at Hopton Heath, in Staffordshire, March 19, 164½, fighting, with three of his sons, for the royal cause. He was at first entered at Queen's College, in Oxford, about 1649, and after about three years' stay there, travelled into France, Italy, and other countries; and upon his return was after the Restoration made a cornet in the royal regiment of horse-guards, under the command of Aubrey Vere, earl of Oxford. Afterwards entering into holy orders, when he was about thirty years of age, he was in 1667 made master of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, in May, 1669, canon of Christ Church; and, in October, 1674, bishop of Oxford; and, in December, of the year following, upon the death of Dr. Humphrey Henchman, translated to the see of London, in which he died on the 7th of July, 1711, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was an humble, modest, generous, and goodnatured man, but weak, wilful, much in the power of others, and strangely wedded to a party.† He applied himself more to his function than bishops had commonly done, and went about his diocese, and preached and confirmed in many places; but his preaching was without much vivacity or learning, as he had not passed through his studies with the exactness that was pro-

* Life of Dr. Prideaux, dean of Norwich, p. 54—56.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 392, and vol. ii. p. 650.

per. He was a great patron of the converts from popery, and of those protestants who had been obliged to leave France for their religion. His chief attachment, during the reign of King Charles II. had been to the Lord Treasurer Danby; but he was hated by the Duke of York, whom he greatly offended by his frequent complaints to the King of the insolence of the papists, and especially of Mr. Coleman, the Duke's secretary.* He was one of those eminent persons in the following reign, who met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's house, for concerting proper advices for the Prince of Orange's conduct, and drawing up the declaration, on which they advised his Highness to engage;† and he joined in the invitation of that Prince by the persuasion of the Earl of Danby.‡ His opposition to the court, after the Revolution, in concurrence with the tory party, began, after he had been set aside in the disposal of the archbishopric to Dr. Tillotson, and it was still heightened upon the promotion of Dr. Tennison to that see; and, in the reign of Queen Anne, he always supported those measures, which were most agreeable to her Majesty's own inclination and principles.

His Lordship's expectation of succeeding Archbishop Sancroft upon the derivation of the latter, and his "open falling out," as Mr. Wharton expresses it,§ with the Dean of St. Paul's, are mentioned by that writer, who adds, that the Dean laboured to exclude his Lordship from the archbishopric, and earnestly pressed the King to give it to Bishop Stillingfleet. But for these two last facts I have not met with any other authority.

But, to resume the history of the convocation, the new prolocutor being presented on the 25th of November to the Bishop of London, president of the convocation, whose chaplain he had been, for his Lordship's approbation, made, according to custom, a speech in Latin, in which he extolled the excellency of the church of England, as established by law, above all Christian communities, intimating, that it wanted no amendment, and concluding with the application of this sentence by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* The Bishop in his answer in the same language told the clergy, that "they ought to endeavour a temper in those things that are not essential in religion, thereby to open a door of salvation to a multitude of straying Christians: that it must needs be their duty to shew the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters un-

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 392. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 712. ‡ Ibid. p. 794.
§ MS. Collections above cited.

der King William, which some of the bishops and clergy had promised to them in their addresses to King James."

At the next meeting the Bishop acquainted the convocation, that having communicated the royal commission, by which they were empowered to act, to an eminent civilian, he had found it defective in not having the great seal; for which reason he should prorogue them till that was procured. And, on the 4th of December, that commission, dated November 30, was brought, while both houses were together in Henry VII.'s chapel, by the earl of Nottingham, with a message from the King, representing, that his Majesty had summoned this convocation, not only because it was usual, upon holding a parliament, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which is so eminent a part of the Reformation, and is certainly the best suited to the constitution of this government, and therefore most signally deserved, and should always have both his favour and protection: and that he doubted not, but that they would assist him in promoting the welfare of it, so that no prejudices, which some men might have laboured to possess them with, should disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the church of any benefit from their consultations. That he therefore expected, that the things that should be proposed should be calmly and impartially considered by them: and he assured them, that he would offer nothing to them, but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage both of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

The bishops agreed upon an address to his Majesty to thank him "for the grace and goodness expressed in his message, and the zeal shewn in it for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular, and of the trust and confidence reposed in the convocation by the commission; which marks of his Majesty's care and favour they looked upon as the continuance of the great deliverance, which Almighty God had wrought for them by his means, by making him the blessed instrument of preserving them from falling under the cruelty of popish tyranny. For which, as they often had thanked Almighty God, so they could not forget that high obligation and duty, which they owed to his Majesty; and on these new assurances of his protection and favour to the church, they begged leave to renew the assurance of their constant fidelity and obedience to his Majesty, whom they prayed God to continue long and happily to reign over them."

The lower house of convocation, who were determined to enter into no debates with relation to alterations, would not consent to this address; but first pleaded for the privilege of presenting a separate one of their own drawing up; and then waving that pretension, applied themselves to making amendments in the draughts sent them by the bishops,* in which his Majesty's "zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular," was acknowledged, the lower house thinking, that this imported their owning common union with the foreign protestants.† The reason which they assigned for refusing their concurrence with the bishops in their form, was, that "they were desirous to confine their address to his Majesty's most gracious message, and to those things only therein, which concerned the church of England." This occasioned a conference between the two houses, which was chiefly managed between the Bishop of Salisbury and the prolocutor; and these reasons were reported, why the bishops insisted on the express mention of the protestant religion: 1. Because it is the known denomination of the common doctrine of the western part of Christendom, in opposition to the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. 2. Because the leaving out this may have ill consequences, and be liable to strange constructions, both at home and abroad, among protestants as well as papists. 3. Because it agrees with the general reason offered by the clergy for their amendments, since this was expressly mentioned in the King's message; and in this the church of England being so much concerned, their lordships thought it ought to stand still in the address. The lower house, after debating these reasons, refused to consent to them, but agreed to thank his Majesty "for his pious zeal and care for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the church of England;" and then to add, "whereby we doubt not the interest of all the protestant churches, which is dear to us, will, under the influence of your Majesty's government, be the better secured." The upper house desiring them to give their reason, why instead of the protestant religion they inserted protestant churches, it was given in these words: "We being the representative of a formed established church, do not think fit to mention the word *religion*, any farther than it is the religion of some formed established church." Their lordships returned the amendment with this alteration: "We doubt not, the interest of the protestant religi-

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 593. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.

on in this and all other protestant churches," &c. The lower house, still jealous that it would be a diminution of the church of England to join it with foreign protestant churches, would have the words (this and) omitted; and at last, with great difficulty, an address was agreed, and presented to the King, in the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall, on Thursday, the 12th of December; wherein they returned their most humble acknowledgments for his Majesty's message, and the pious zeal and care which he was pleased to express therein, for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the church of England; whereby, they doubted not, the interest of the protestant religion in all other protestant churches, which was dear to them, would be the better secured under the influence of his Majesty's government and protection; and they craved leave to assure him, that, in pursuance of that trust and confidence which he reposed in them, they would consider whatsoever should be offered to them from his Majesty, without prejudice, and with all calmness and impartiality; and that they would constantly pay the fidelity and allegiance, which they had all sworn to him and the Queen, whom they prayed God to continue long and happily to reign over them. The King well understood, why this address omitted the thanks which the bishops had recommended for his royal commission, and the zeal which he had shewn for the protestant religion; and why there was no expression of tenderness to the dissenters, and but a cool regard to the protestant churches. However, his Majesty returned this gracious answer, that he " took this address very kindly from the convocation; and that they might depend upon it, that he would do all he had promised, and all he could do, for the service of the church of England; and gave them this new assurance, that he would improve all occasions and opportunities for its service."

The majority of the lower house had a reserved kindness for the nonjuring bishops and clergy; and, therefore, one of the members made a zealous speech in behalf of the bishops under suspension, that " something might be done to qualify them to sit in convocation, yet so as that the convocation might not incur any danger thereby." But this matter being of too delicate a nature, was left to farther consideration, while they laboured to find out some other business to divert them from that, for which they were called together. And, therefore, on the 11th of December, the prolocutor attended the president and bishops, and, in the name of the lower house, represented to their lordships, " that there were several

books of a very dangerous consequence to the Christian religion and the church of England; particularly, Notes upon Athanasius's Creed, and Two Letters relating to the present Convocation, newly come abroad;" and desired their lordships' advice, "in what way, and how far safely, without incurring the penalty of the statute of 25 Hen. VIII. the convocation might proceed in the preventing the publishing the like scandalous books for the future, and inflicting the censures of the church, according to the canons provided in that behalf, upon the authors of them." Upon which the Prolocutor, on the 13th of that month, acquainted the house, that "the President had declared his sense of the ill consquence of those books, that were sent up from that house to their Lordships; and that, upon inquiry, he could not receive any satisfaction, how far the convocation might proceed in that affair; but that he would, as far as lay in him, take further order about it." The same day, the bishops having proposed to appoint a committee of both houses to sit during the recess, the lower house, after some debate, resolved in the negative: after which the convocation was prorogued to the 24th of January following, then prorogued again, and at last dissolved with the parliament.* For as there was at that time but a small number of bishops in the upper house, and they had not their metropolitan with them, nor strength and authority to set things forward, they advised the King to suffer the session to be discontinued: and thus seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them; for ever since the year 1662 the convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business; so that they were kept at no small charge in town, to do nothing but only to meet and read a Latin liturgy; and, consequently, it was an ease to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. But the ill reception which the clergy gave the King's message, raised a great clamour against them, since all the promises made in King James II.'s time were now so entirely forgot.†

However, there is observed by Bishop Burnet‡ a very happy direction of the providence of God in this matter. The jacobite clergy, who were then under suspension, were designing to make a schism in the church, whenever they should be turned out, and

* Historical Account of the whole Proceedings of the Convocation, printed at the end of Vox Cleri: London, 1690, 4to.; and Kennet, p. 594, 595.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 33. ‡ Ibid. and p. 34.

their places should be filled up by others. They saw, that it would not be easy to make a separation upon private and personal account, and therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences. If, therefore, any alterations had been made in the rubric, and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have pretended, that they still stuck to the ancient church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it, and setting up new models. But though they hoped and wished that those alterations might be made, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for serving their ends, yet they were at the same time the instruments of raising such a clamour against them, as prevented their being made; which, if they had been carried by a majority in the convocation, would, by the best judgment that could be afterwards formed, have on that account done more hurt than good.

Such important points as were the subject of the commission, and intended for the consideration of the convocation, occasioned the publication of several pamphlets in favour of, as well as against, the intended comprehension. Among the former was a Discourse concerning that commission, proving it to be agreeable to the law of the land, useful to the convocation, tending to the well-being of the church, and seasonable at this juncture, written by Dr. Thomas Tennison, and printed at London, 1689, in 4to.; and A Letter to a Friend relating to the present Convocation, dated November 27, 1689, and sometimes ascribed to Dr. Tillotson, though the real author of it was Dr. Humphrey Prideaux.* On the other side was published, Vox Cleri; or, the Sense of the Clergy concerning the making of Alterations in the established Liturgy: with some Remarks on the Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission, and several Letters for Alterations, London, 1690, in 4to. This was imputed to Mr. Thomas Long, prebendary of Exeter; and was opposed by, An Answer to Vox Cleri, &c. examining the reasons against making any alterations and abatements in order to a comprehension, and shewing the expediency thereof; said to be written by Dr. William Payne, and printed at London, 1690, in 4to. Vox Populi; or, the Sense of the sober Laymen of the Church of England, concerning Heads proposed in his Majesty's Commission to the Convocation; printed the same year, and in the same form. Vox Regis et Regni; or, a Protest against Vox Cleri, and a Persuasive (thereby occasioned) to make such Alterations as may give ease to our dissenting Brethren: London, 1690, in 4to.; and Two

* See his Life, p. 58.

Letters, and a Vindication of them, concerning Alterations in the Liturgy, by Mr. Basset, London, 1689, in 4to. The answer to Vox Cleri was replied to in a just censure of it; and Dr. Henry Maurice, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, published Remarks from the Country upon the Two Letters relating to the Convocation and Alterations. The Letter to a Friend, concerning some queries about the new commission for making alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c. of the English, published in October, 1689, is supposed to be the performance of Dr. Jane himself:* and this supposition is the more probable, as the author, after declaring against any alterations, seems to point his reflections directly against Dr. Tillotson in these queries: "Whether the known character of some leading men in this commission be not reason enough to suspect the event? Whether men, who conformed with difficulty themselves, or upon principles, which wise men foresaw would destroy the church in time, who have latitude to conform to a church *de facto*, which hath power on its side, and to conceal their own inclinations till it is time to shew them, are not likely to do the church of England a good turn, when opportunity serves, and which perhaps they imagine now they have?" Dr. South has likewise, in several passages of his works, spoke with his usual severity of the scheme. He begins the preface to his Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the holy and ever-blessed Trinity, printed in 1693, in 4to. with remarking, "that to be impugned from without, and betrayed from within, is certainly the worst condition, that either church or state can fall into; and the best of churches, the church of England, has had experience of both. It had been to be wished, and (one would think) might very reasonably have been expected, that when Providence had took the work of destroying the church of England out of the papists' hands, some would have been contented with her preferments, without either attempting to give up her rites and liturgy, or deserting her doctrine. But it has proved otherwise." He is still more full and explicit upon this topic in his dedication of the second volume of his Sermons to the university of Oxford, dated November 17th, 1693, in which he observes, that the chief design of some of them is to assert the rights and constitutions of our excellently-reformed church, "which of late," says he, "we so often hear reproached (in the modish dialect of the present times) by the name of *little things*; and that, in order to their being laid aside, not only as

* See Wood. Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1049.

little, but *superfluous*. But, for my own part, I can account nothing little in any church, which has the stamp of undoubted authority, and the practice of primitive antiquity, as well as the reason and decency of the thing itself, to warrant and support it. Though, if the supposed littleness of these matters should be a sufficient reason for the laying them aside, I fear our church will be found to have more little men to spare than little things." He then declaims against the innovating spirit, which had been striking at the constitution of our church; affirming, that "innovations about religion are certainly the most efficacious, as well as the most plausible, way of compassing a total abolition of it."

On the other side, it was remarkable that Bishop Patrick should have so great a share in the design of the comprehension, who, in the general preface, dated November 1st, 1683, before the sixth edition of his Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Nonconformist, had declared himself irreconcileable to such a design. This he took occasion to remark in answer to the censure passed upon that book by the Lord Chief-Justice Hale,* whom he owned to be as eminent for candour as learning and piety. His Lordship had expressed a great dislike of the Friendly Debate,† and Dr. Parker's Ecclesiastical Policy,‡ as tending to the injury of religion itself, that he wished the authors would openly profess, that they wrote for themselves, and no more abusively pretend it was for religion. Dr. Patrick acknowledges, in his general preface, that "he was not then, nor is now, for that project of comprehension, with which every body knows Sir Matthew Hale was strongly possessed. The debate came in the way of that, and lay cross to it. But as for his charge of the author's writing for himself, I can demonstrate, that as things then stood, it was impossible (unless we will suppose him to be a fool) he should have any such respect to secular advantages, which he might thereby reap, save only the preserving himself by preserving the government, which he was bound to do as a member of this church and kingdom, which he loves unfeignedly, and whose present constitution he will always endeavour stedfastly to uphold. For they whom he opposed had too much power, he knew very well, at that time to obstruct him in such a design; and as they used all their interest to depress him, so they had such an influence, I can prove, upon some, who are now dead and gone,

* See Mr. Baxter's second Defence of Nonconformity, p. 188. London, 1681.

† The first and second parts of it were published in 1668; and the third in 1670.

‡ Printed at London, 1669, in 8vo.

that by their means they did actually keep him down, a long time, from rising at all in the world." This whole preface has indeed strong marks of chagrin; and the time of writing it is the more remarkable, being soon after the discovery of the Rye-house plot, which he styles "a late treasonable conspiracy against his Majesty's sacred person and government." Nor is it improbable that his attachment to the court, and connexions with Dr. Samuel Parker, occasioned in some measure that resentment which he expressed against the Dean of Canterbury, on account of his sermon on Joshua xxiv. 15, in his letters to that ambitious and prostitute divine, cited above from Dr. Hickes. But he afterwards became more moderate; and his zeal and labours to obviate the progress of popery during the reign of King James II. concurred, with his extensive learning and piety, to recommend him to the bishopric of Chichester, whence he was translated to that of Ely, in 1691, where he died on the 31st of May, 1707, in his eighty-first year, being born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, on the 8th of September, 1626. His education had been in the university of Cambridge, where he was fellow of Queen's College, and ordained by Dr. Joseph Hall, the deprived Bishop of Norwich. He was at first vicar of Battersea, and in September, 1662, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden; and in August, 1679, advanced to the deanery of Peterborough, upon the decease of Dr. Duport, whose Greek and Latin poems were in the last age much admired, though now little read; the former being a cento from Homer, and the latter wanting a true classical purity, and abounding in unnatural conceits, and a mere play of words.

Dr. Tillotson had been in strict attendance at court, in his office of clerk of the closet, for ten weeks, till towards the beginning of September, 1689, when he obtained leave to retire for some days to his house at Edmonton, whence he wrote on the 10th of that month to Lady Russel, giving her an account of the King's having given the bishopric of Chichester to Dr. Patrick, and the deanery of Peterborough to Dr. Kidder. The rectory of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, also falling to his Majesty's disposal by the promotion of the new Bishop of Chichester, Dean Tillotson informed her Ladyship, that he believed that the King would not dispose of that living but to one, whom the Earl of Bedford, the patron of it, should approve; and therefore asked her, whether his Lordship and she would be willing, that the Earl of Nottingham should mention to his Majesty on that occasion Dr. John More. This divine

was, after his advancement to the episcopal dignity, one of the most eminent patrons of learning and learned men in his time; and his name will be carried down to posterity, not only by his sermons published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, his chaplain, but by the curious and magnificent library collected by him, and purchased after his death for six thousand guineas by his late Majesty, who presented it to the university of Cambridge. He was born at Harborough, in Leicestershire, and educated at Clare Hall, in that university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1665, of master in 1669, of doctor of divinity in 1681. He was fellow of that college, and chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham, and quitting the rectory of Blaby, in Leicestershire, was presented to that of St. Austin, in London, in December, 1687; and in October, 1689, was removed to that of St. Andrew's, which he held till July, 1691, when he was consecrated Bishop of Norwich, in the room of Dr. William Lloyd, deprived for not taking the oaths; and in July, 1707, translated to the see of Ely, upon the death of Dr. Patrick. He died on the 31st July, 1714, at the age of sixty-eight.

In the same letter the Dean takes notice of his having spoken to the King the Sunday before concerning Mr. Samuel Johnson, and that his Majesty seemed well inclined to what he had moved for that divine, but did not positively determine to take that course. This refers to some request, which Lady Russel had desired the Dean to make to his Majesty in favour of Mr. Johnson, for whom she had great zeal, out of regard both to the memory of her husband, whose chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and sufferings. This remarkable man was born in Staffordshire, in 1649, educated first at St. Paul's School,* thence removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge,† and on the 1st of March, $16\frac{6}{70}$, presented by Mr. Robert Bidolph to the rectory of Coringham, in the hundreds of Essex,‡ worth eighty pounds a year; the only church preferment which he ever enjoyed. But the air of that place not agreeing with his health, he was obliged to put in a curate to supply the living, and came to London, where his knowledge of politics, and the constitution and history of his country, recommended him to the acquaintance of the principal persons engaged in an opposition to the measures and designs of the court, and particularly the Earl of Essex and the Lord Russel, the latter of whom appointed him his domestic chaplain. His Julian, the Apostate,

* Some Memorials prefixed to his Works. † Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 411.
‡ Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. ii. p. 94.

published in 1682, was intended to expose the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which were carried at that time to an extravagant height by writers even of his own order, and to shew the great difference betwixt the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and our's, who have the laws on our side. This provoked the court to such a degree, that he was prosecuted for it as a very scandalous and seditious libel, and sentenced in the King's Bench, on the 11th of February, 168$\frac{2}{3}$, to pay 500 marks for a fine to the King, to find sureties for his good behaviour for a year, and to be committed to the prison of the King's Bench till this be paid and done, and that his book be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Being incapable to discharge his fine, he continued in prison in extremely necessitous circumstances; and there drew upon himself a new persecution, in the reign of King James II. by writing and printing, in 1686, An humble and hearty Address to all the English Protestants in the present Army. The sentence which he received was a very severe one, to stand in the pillory in Westminster, Charing Cross, and the Royal Exchange; to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. Previously to his suffering, he was degraded in the Chapter House of St. Paul's, on the 22d of November, 1686, by Dr. Crew, bishop of Durham, Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, bishop of Peterborough, and several divines of the city; Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, refusing to attend on that occasion. He bore the whipping, on the 1st of December following, with great fortitude. The Revolution restored him to his liberty, and the judgment given against him in 1686 was declared illegal and cruel, and his degradation null; and the House of Lords presented two addresses to King William, recommending him to preferment: and the reason why he never received any, is to be derived from his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, considerable learning, and great clearness, strength, and vivacity of sentiment and expression, of which his writings are a sufficient evidence, among which his few sermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmness of mind capable of supporting the severest trials, for any cause, the truth or importance of which he was convinced of; he was passionate, impatient of contradiction, self-opinionated, haughty, and apt to overrate his own services, and undervalue those of others, whose advancement above himself was an insupportable mortification to him. In what manner he treated Bishop Burnet, against whom he had a

peculiar spleen, appears from his writings, especially his Notes on the Phœnix Edition of the Pastoral Letter. Nor was he much more gentle to Dean Tillotson, especially on account of his letter to Lord Russel: but the Dean bore it with his usual temper, and still endeavoured to serve him to the utmost of his power, and in so secret a manner, that Mr. Johnson should not discover his obligations to him, it being not uncommon with the latter to return the kindnesses received from persons whom he disliked with an air of the utmost contempt, as he did that of the Dean, when he sent him a present of thirty pounds during his confinement in the King's Bench, though his necessities forced him to accept of the money. The roughness of his temper, and turbulency of his genius, rendered him also unfit for the higher stations of the church, of which he was immoderately ambitious; as well as his freedom in delivering his sentiments with relation to all subjects and persons, without management or decorum; a liberty which he often exercised even in the court itself, where he publicly said, that upon the principle of kings being accountable only to God, the Rump Parliament had done right to send King Charles I. to him. As he could not succeed in his applications for a bishopric in England, and would not submit to any inferior preferment in the church, having refused the rich deanery of Durham, he changed his former solicitations into one for a pension from the King; in which he was at last gratified, having the grant of 300*l.* a year for his own and his son's life, with 1000*l.* in money, and a place of 100*l.* a year for his son.

The King had now fixed upon Dr. Tillotson for the successor to the suspended Archbishop, if the latter should incur, as he seemed determined, a sentence of deprivation: and he communicated this intention to the Doctor, when he kissed his Majesty's hands for the deanery of St. Paul's. But this fact will be best represented in the Dean's own words, in his letter to Lady Russel, which I shall insert here at length, as well as some others, since a mere abstract would be an injury to the reader, and to as great a master of the epistolary, as all other kinds of writing. And it is observable, that this letter is an unanswerable confutation of a report propagated to the disadvantage of Bishop Burnet, that he had a view himself to the archbishopric, and that his disappointment in that respect was the ground of an incurable resentment against a Prince, to whom he had been so much obliged.

" *HONOURED MADAM, *London, April* 19, 1689.

" I received both your letters; and before the latter came to my hands, I gave your Ladyship some kind of answer to the first, as the time would let me, for the post staid for it. But, having now a little more leisure you will, I hope, give me leave to trouble you with a longer letter.

" I was not at Hampton Court last Sunday, being almost tired out with ten weeks' attendance, so that I have had no opportunity to try further in the business I wrote of in my last, but hope to bring it to some issue the next opportunity I can get to speak with the King. I am sorry to see in Mr. Johnson so broad a mixture of human frailty with so considerable virtues; but when I look into myself, I must think it pretty well, when any man's infirmities are in any measure overbalanced by his better qualities. This good man, I am speaking of, has at some times not used me over-well; for which I do not only forgive him, when I consider for whose sake he did it, but do heartily love him.

" The King, besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker,† whose modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him bishop of London-derry, one of the best bishoprics in Ireland; that so he may receive the reward of that great service in the place where he did it. It is incredible how much every body is pleased with what the King hath done in this matter, and it is no small joy to me to see, that God directs him to do so wisely.

" I will now give your Ladyship a short account of his Majesty's disposal of our English church preferments, which I think he hath done as well as could be expected in the midst of the power-

* From a copy in the possession of the right Reverend Dr. Edmund Gibson, late lord bishop of London.

† Mr. George Walker, justly famous for his defence of London-Derry, in Ireland, was born of English parents in the county of Tyrone, in that kingdom, and educated in the university of Glasgow, in Scotland. He was afterwards rector of Donoghmore, not many miles from the city of London-Derry. Upon the Revolution he raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants; and, upon intelligence of King James having a design to besiege London-Derry, retired thither, being at last chosen governor of it. After the raising of that siege he came to England, where he was most graciously received by their Majesties, and, on the 19th of November, 1689, received the thanks of the House of Commons, having just before published an account of that siege. He was created doctor of divinity by the university of Oxford, on the 26th of February, $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$, in his return to Ireland, where he was killed in the beginning of July, 1690, at the passage of the Boyne, having resolved to serve that campaign before he took possession of his bishopric.

ful importunities of so many great men, in whom I discern too much of court art and contrivance for the preferment of their friends; yea, even in my good Lord Nottingham more than I could wish. This is a melancholy consideration to one in my station, in which I do not see how it is possible so to manage a man's self between civility and sincerity, between being willing to give good words to all, and able to do good to very few, as to hold out an honest man, or even the reputation of being so, a year to an end.

"I promised a short account, but I am long before I come to it.

"The Dean of St. Paul's, bishop of Worcester; the Dean of Peterborough, of Chichester; an humble servant of your's, dean of St. Paul's; the Dean of Norwich is dean of Canterbury; and Dr. Stanley, clerk of his Majesty's closet, is residentiary of St. Paul's; and Dr. Fairfax, dean of Norwich. The warden of All Souls,* in Oxford, is prebendary of Canterbury; and Mr. Nixon hath the other prebend there, void by the death of Dr. Jeffryes. These two last merited of the King in the west, Mr. Finch by going in early to him, and Mr. Nixon, who is my Lord of Bath's chaplain, by carrying messages between the King and my Lord of Bath, as the King himself told me, with the hazard of his life. St. Andrews and Covent Garden are not yet disposed. Dr. Birch (which I had almost forgot) is prebendary of Westminster; and, which grieves me much, Mons. Allix put by at present. But my Lord Privy-Seal† would not be denied. The whole is as well as could easily be in the present circumstances.

"But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the King's hand for the deanery of St. Paul's, I gave his Majesty my most hum-

* Mr. Leopold William Finch, fifth son of Heneage, earl of Winchelsea, by lady Mary, second daughter of William Seymour, Duke of Somerset. He was born at Constantinople, while his father was ambassador there, educated at Christ Church, in Oxford, and elected warden of All Souls, by mandamus of King James II. on the 21st of January, 168$\frac{6}{7}$, having been elected fellow of that college from Christ Church, where he was educated, and took the degree of batchelor of arts, December 17, 1681, as he did that of master, December, 1685. How opposite his principles had been to those of the Revolution, in which he so early joined, may be judged of by his dedication to James, Earl of Abington, of an English translation of Cornelius Nepos, by several hands, printed at Oxford, in 1683; in which, having ridiculed the popish plot by the name of Dr. Titus's Plot, and rejoiced, that it comes to the fanatics turn to hang, he complains of the plague of republican principles, and glories in the gownsmens asserting one of the most sacred essentials of the government, the lineal succession, which could neither by the dispensation of the Pope, or the power of parliament, be altered.

† The Marquis of Halifax.

ble thanks, and told him, that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied, 'no such matter, I assure you:' and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of; and said, 'it was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience? Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, that when his Majesty was at leisure, I did believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station, in which he had now placed me. This hath brought me into a real difficulty. For on the one hand it is hard to decline his Majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness as his Majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I owe to the Bishop of Salisbury, one of the worst and best friends I know. Best for his singular good opinion of me; and the worst, for directing the King to this method, which I know he did; as if his Lordship and I had concerted the matter how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a bishopric, to catch at an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the briars, that without his Majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face. And now I will tell your Ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have, for a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service, without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased, by very severe ways, but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me. And I do verily believe, that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station, than in a higher, and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose: for the people naturally love a man, that will take great pains and little preferment. But, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I should sink under it, and grow melancholy and good for nothing, and after a little while die as a fool dies.

"But this, madam, is a great deal too much upon one of the worst and nicest subjects in the world—a man's self.

"As I was finishing this long letter, which, if your goodness will forgive, I hope never to have occasion to try it so far again, I received your letter, and shall say no more of Dr. More, of whose preaching I always knew your Ladyship's opinion. The person I

mentioned was Mr. Kidder, on whom the King has bestowed the deanery of Peterborough, and therefore cannot have it. I am fully of your Ladyship's opinion, that what my Lord Bedford does in this matter, must not appear to be done by him, for fear of bringing other importunities upon the King. If my Lord thinks well of Dr. Horneck, Dr. More would then certainly have St Andrew's.

I thank God for the health your family enjoys, as for that of my own; and equally pray for the continuance of it, and all other blessings. I would fain find room to tender my humble service to my Lord of Bedford, my Lord Russel, and two of the best young ladies I know. I am, honoured madam, more than I can express,

"Your most obliged and obedient servant,

"JOHN TILLOTSON."

Lady Russel, in her answer to this letter, desired to know of the Dean the characters of two of the city divines, Mr. Samuel Freeman and Mr John Williams; of the latter of whom she had heard him speak in very advantageous terms, since these two were now the only persons, who lay before the Earl of Bedford for his consideration, in order to be recommended to the King for the living of Covent Garden; his Lordship not being inclined to Dr. More, and the parish in a high degree averse to Dr. Horneck. Her Ladyship then proceeds to the Dean's own case. "Now a few words," says she, "to your own concern, that bears so heavy upon your mind, and I have done. I know not, if I should use the phrase, integrity is my idol; but I am sure I admire and love it hugely, wherever I meet it. I do pity you, Mr. Dean, and think you have a hard game upon your hands; which, if it should happen you cannot play off your own way, you can do better than a man less mortified to the world could; because, if you serve the interest of religion and the King's, you are doing what you have dedicated yourself to, and therefore can be more regardless of ignorant and wicked censures; for, upon my word, I believe you will incur no other. Your character is above it, if what you fear should come upon you. But as I conceive there are six months yet to deliberate upon this matter, you know the old saying, 'many things fall out between the cup and the lip.' And pray do not fill your head with the fears of a trouble, though never so great, that is at a distance, and may never be: for if you think too much of a matter you dread, it will certainly disturb your quiet, and that will infallibly injure your health; and you cannot but see, sir, that would be of a

bad consequence. The King is willing to hear you; you know your own heart to do good; and you have lived some time, and have had experience. You say well, that such an one is the best and worst friend. I think I should have had more tenderness to the will and temper of my friend. And, for his justification, one may say, he prefers good to many, before gratifying one single person; and a public good ought to carry a man a great way. But I see your judgment (if your inclination does not bias too far) is heartily against him in this matter, that you think you cannot do so much good then, as now. We must see, if you can convince him thereof; and, when he is master of that notion, then let him labour to make your way out of those briars he has done his part to bring you into; though something else would have done it without him, I believe, if I am not mistaken in this, no more than I am, that this letter is much too long."

The Dean's reply* to this letter was written a few days after.

"HONOURED MADAM, *Edmonton, Sept.* 24, 1689.

"JUST now I received your Ladyship's letter. Since my last, and not before, I understand the great averseness of the parish from Dr. Horneck; so that if my Lord of Bedford had liked him, I could not have thought it fit, knowing how necessary it is to the good effect of a man's ministry, that he do not lie under any great prejudice with the people. The two, whom the Bishop of Chichester† hath named, are, I think, of the worthiest of the city ministers, since Mr. Kidder declines it, for the reason given by the Bishop; and, if he did not, could not have it, not because of any inconsistency in the preferments, but because the King, having so many obligations yet to answer, cannot at the same time give two such preferments to one man. For the two persons mentioned, if comparison must be made between two very good men, I will tell your Ladyship my free thoughts of them.

"Mr. Williams is really one of the best men I know, and most unwearied in doing good, and his preaching very weighty and judicious. The other is a truly pious man, and of a winning conversation. He preaches well, and hath much the more plausible delivery, and, I think, a stronger voice. Both of them (which I had almost forgot) have been steady in all changes of times. This is the plain truth; and yet I must not conceal one particular and present advan-

* From a copy in the possession of a late Bishop of London. † Dr. Patrick.

tage on Dr. Freeman's side. On Sunday night last the King asked me concerning a city-minister, whose name he had forgot; but said he had a very kind remembrance of him, having had much conversation with him, when his Majesty was very young in Holland, and wondered he had never seen him since he came into England. I could not imagine who he should be, till his Majesty told me he was the English Ambassador's chaplain above twenty years ago, meaning Sir William Temple's. Upon that I knew it was Dr. Freeman. The King said, that was his name, and desired me to find him out, and tell him, that he had not forgot him, but remembered with pleasure the acquaintance he had with him many years ago; and had charged me, when there was an opportunity, to put him in mind of him. This I thought both great goodness in the King, and modesty in Dr. Freeman, never to shew himself to the King all this while. By this your Ladyship will judge, who is like to be most acceptable to the King, whose satisfaction as well as service I am obliged to regard, especially in the disposal of his own preferments, though Mr. Williams be much more my friend.

"I mentioned Mr. Johnson again, but his Majesty put on other discourse; and my Lord Privy-Seal told me yesterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give pensions out of his purse, instead of church-preferments; and tells me, Mr. Johnson is very sharp upon me: his Lordship called it railing; but it shall not move me in the least. His Lordship asked me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good bishopric in Ireland, there being several void. I thought it very well, if it would be acceptable. His Lordship said, that was all one: the offer would stop many mouths as well as his; which I think was well considered.

"I will say no more of myself, but only thank your Ladyship for your good advice, which I have always a great disposition to follow, and a great deal of reason, being assured it is sincere as well as wise. The King hath set upon me again with greater earnestness of persuasion, than is fit for one that may command. I begged as earnestly to be considered in this thing, and so we parted upon good terms. I hope something will happen to hinder it. I put it out of my mind as much as I can, and leave it to the good providence of God for the thing to find its own issue. To that I commend you and your's, and am, madam,

"Your's by all possible obligation,

"J. TILLOTSON."

"If Mr. Johnson refuse this offer, and it should be my hard fortune not to be able to get out of this difficulty, which I will, if it be possible to do it without provocation, I know one, that will do more for Mr. Johnson than was desired of the King; but still as from the King, for any thing that he shall know. But I hope some much better way will be found; and that there will be neither occasion nor opportunity for this."

The Dean's recommendation in this letter of Dr. Freeman had its full weight in procuring him the rectory of Covent Garden, to which he was instituted December 28, 1689,* being removed thither from that of St. Anne's, Aldersgate, to which he had been presented in November, 1670, by Dr. Henchman, bishop of London.† He had been also vicar of his native town of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, and was preferred to the deanery of Peterborough about August, 1691, upon the advancement of Dr. Kidder to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and was succeeded in that deanery at his death, which happened October 14th, 1707, at the age of sixty-three, by Dr. White Kennet, afterwards bishop of Peterborough.‡ He was a man of great pleasantry in conversation; but his performances in the pulpit were not equally admired; on which account Dr. Garth introduced him in the fourth canto of his Dispensary, under the epithet of *mysterious*, and described him as *preaching his parish into a lethargy*.

Mr. Williams, the other divine, mentioned by the Dean as a friend highly esteemed by him, was a native of Northamptonshire, and entered, in 1651, a commoner of Magdalen Hall, in the university of Oxford, at the age of about seventeen,§ and took the degree of bachelor of arts, December 14th, 1655,‖ and that of master, June 11th, 1658;¶ about which time he entered into holy orders. He was presented to the rectory of St Mildred, in the Poultry, in the city of London, in September, 1673,** and to the prebend of Rugmere, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, in September, 1683.†† After the Revolution he became chaplain to King Wil-

* Newcourt Repertorium, vol. i. p. 279. † Ibid. ‡ Willis's Survey.
§ Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1119, 1120. ‖ Fast Oxon. vol. ii. col. 108.
¶ Ibid. col. 122. ** Newcourt Repertorium, vol. i. p. 208. Mr. Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1120, says, that he had been before this minister of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, and vicar of Wrotham, in Kent. But we find by Newcourt, vol. i. p. 528, that this was another person of the same name, who died not long before the Revolution. †† Newcourt, vol. i. p. 208.

liam and Queen Mary, and was preferred to a prebend of Canterbury, and in December, 1696, advanced to the bishopric of Chichester, in which he died in 1709. He was a considerable writer in the controversies with the papists and dissenters, and preached the lectures founded by Mr. Boyle, his sermons on that occasion being published in 1695, in 4to. under the title of The Characters of Divine Revelation.

The grounds of the great averseness in the parish of Covent Garden to Dr. Anthony Horneck, are not easy to be assigned at this distance of time. But their dislike to him was the more extraordinary, considering his prodigious popularity on account of his reputation for piety, and his pathetic sermons, his church at the Savoy being crowded by auditors from the most remote parts; which occasioned Dean Freeman to say, that Dr. Horneck's parish was much the largest in town, since it reached from Whitehall to Whitechapel. He was by birth a German, being born at Baccharach, in the Lower Palatinate, in 1641, and was educated at Heidelbergh, and then at Leyden; and, at the age of nineteen, coming over to England, was entered of Queen's College, Oxford, December 24, 1663. Two years after he became tutor to the Lord Torrington, son to George, duke of Albemarle, who gave him the living of Doulton, in Devonshire, and procured him a prebend in the church of Exeter from Bishop Sparrow. In 1671 he was chosen preacher at the Savoy, upon which he resigned his living in Devonshire, being irreconcilable to pluralities and non-residence.* The noble family of the Russels having a great regard for him, Admiral Russel, afterwards Earl of Orford, recommended him to the Queen for preferment; who, by the advice of Dr. Tillotson, then archbishop, promised the next prebend of Westminster that should fall; and he accordingly was presented to it in 1693, by her Majesty, to whom he was introduced by the Archbishop, being now restored to his Grace's good opinion, from the prejudices which had been raised against him.† He and Dr. Beveridge had the chief directions of the religious societies, which began to be formed in the reign of King James II. He died of the stone, at his house near Westminster Abbey, Jan. 31, 169$\frac{6}{7}$, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Nelson being at Paris, after having attended his lady to Aix, in Provence, for the recovery of her health, the Dean wrote from Edmonton a letter to him on the 15th of October, 1689, in answer

* Life of Anthony Horneck, D.D. by Richard, lord bishop of Bath and Wells, p. 3—8. Edit. London, 1698. † Ibid. p. 17—21.

to one from that gentleman, of the 30th of July. In this letter he gives an account of the disposal of the church-preferments in the manner mentioned in his letter to Lady Russel, of September the 19th, with this addition, that Mr. Kidder and Mr. Freeman had by his interest been created doctors of divinity at Cambridge, while the King was there in the beginning of October; and that Dr. More was presented to the rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Dr. Gilbert Ironside promoted to the see of Bristol. The latter, who was the son of a bishop of Bristol of both his names, had been educated in Wadham College, in Oxford, while Dr. Wilkins, whom he then highly admired for his great abilities, was warden of it; an office which he afterwards filled himself upon the promotion of Dr. Blandford to the bishopric of Oxford, in 1665. His dislike of the proceedings of Bishop Fell, dean of Christ Church, which he thought somewhat arbitrary,* prevented him from accepting the office of vice chancellor of the university, till after the death of that prelate in July, 1686; but, in the years 1687 and 1688, he undertook and discharged it with all the firmness and resolution requisite, at a time when the rights of the university, and the safety of the protestant religion, were in immediate danger. And it was by his address and management, that upon the earliest notice possible of the death of James, the first duke of Ormond, at Kingston Hall, in Dorsetshire, on the 21st of July, 1688, in the evening, the university proceeded to the election of his grandson, the late Duke of Ormond, for their chancellor, on the 23d, in the morning; by which means they anticipated the King's mandate in favour of the Lord Chancellor Jeffries.

In the former part of this year, 1689, the Dean and his friend, Dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, were involved in a business, which took up no small share of their time. It was a trust, in which they were engaged by the will of Robert Aske, Esq. alderman of London, and founder of the magnificent hospital at Hoxton, near that city, for maintaining twenty poor men of the company of Haberdashers, of which he was a member, and twenty boys with a proper education. He, dying, and leaving considerable effects, had made them joint executors of his will, and the Haberdashers' Company his heirs; and, among other legacies, had left each of the executors 200*l.* and 400*l.* to twenty such poor clergymen as they should nominate. The executors were so prudent, as to let the agents of the Company, whose concern in this matter was the

* Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1184. See likewise col. 1170.

greatest, have the custody of all the ready money and bonds, which were found belonging to the deceased; or, at least, they were put into some common hand trusted by both parties till the will was completely executed: nor was there any thing transacted relating to this trust from the time that the will was opened, till that of the surrendering all their concerns into the hands of the Company, but in the presence, and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the Company, particularly Sir Thomas Vernon and Mr. Mould, which latter kept the accounts of all things done in this affair. This caution of their's proved afterwards of great importance to them, by enabling them to give full satisfaction to some, who had suspected, upon false suggestions made to them, that the executors had disposed of some of the Alderman's effects, before they delivered in the schedule to the Company. And this suspicion being raised at a time when they were both metropolitans, would have been something more than a blot upon their private characters, had they not had sufficient evidences to recur to, of their great care and honesty in the management of their trust.*

The Dean of St. Paul's, among other subjects of his sermons before their Majesties in his course, took one upon a point of a very delicate nature, before the Queen, on the 7th of March, $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{8}{9}$. It was upon Matthew xxv. 46, concerning the "eternity of hell torments," which he soon after printed. This sermon gave occasion to a new clamour against him, as if he had absolutely denied the doctrine itself; and a groundless and absurd story has been handed down amongst the nonjuring party, that it was written by way of consolation to the Queen, then under the horrors of despair on account of her behaviour to her father. Dr. Hickes† discharges all the venom of his pen against this "wretched sermon," as he styles it, calling out upon the convocation to censure it, representing it as a matter of triumph to atheists, deists, and Socinians; and suggesting, that the reasoning of it was borrowed from a manuscript discourse upon the same subject, still extant, which Dr. Hickes owns he had never seen, written "by an old sceptic of Norwich." By this description he meant Mr. John Whitefoot, who, while rector of Hingham, in Norfolk, preached and published the funeral sermon upon the death of that learned and venerable prelate, Dr.

* Extract of the MS. life of Dr. John Sharp, archbishop of York, by his son Dr. Thomas Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland, communicated by him to me in his letter of November 7, 1751.

† Some Discourses, p. 44—47.

Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, on the 8th of September, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was afterwards rector of St. Peter's, of Mancroft, in Norwich.

This sermon of the Dean, which has been so elaborately defended by Mons. le Clerc, in his Bibliotheque Choisie,* in 1705, induced Mr. John Kettlewell, one of the most pious and moderate of the nonjurors, who had been formerly fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, and was vicar of Coleshill, in Warwickshire, till the Revolution, to make some additions to his Practical Believer, first published in 1688, upon the first and last article of the creed; the one concerning the proportion between sin and punishment, and the other with relation to the dispensing power in God as to punishments.† Dr. Whitby, likewise, in the second volume of his Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, first published in 1700, and reprinted in 1706, inserted an Appendix to the first chapter of the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, to shew, that the endless miseries and torments of the wicked are well consistent both with the justice and the goodness of God; in which he endeavours to confute some of the Dean's arguments on that subject, whom he describes by the epithets of a "great, learned, and excellent person." And the main reasonings of that sermon were directly attacked in 1706, in one preached before the university of Oxford, and published by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) William Lupton, who, after having been fellow of the same college with Mr. Kettlewell, and curate to Bishop Bull, was called to London, to one of the most eminent lectures there, at St. Dunstan's in the West, then chosen preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and at last presented to a prebend of Durham, by Bishop Crew, whom he has highly complimented in a sermon on Proverbs iii. 16, concerning "the temporal advantages of religion," preached before his Lordship on the fiftieth anniversary of his consecration, by applying to him the doctrine of his text. In his sermon against the Archbishop's discourse, he describes it as "too well known,"‡ and a plain instance, that "even the greatest men have their intervals of misapprehension and mistake," though he owns his Grace's "extraordinary personal accomplishments." This sermon was reprinted, with several others of Dr. Lupton's, after his death, at Tunbridge Wells, on the 14th of December, 1726, and will enable the public to judge of them, separately from the advantage which they received from the so-

* Tom. vii. art. 8. p. 292, et seq. † Life of Mr. Kettlewell, p. 163.

‡ Dr. Lupton's Sermons, p. 22.

lemnity of his pronunciation and appearance, how far they deserved the encomium given them by Mr. Nelson,* (who seems upon this occasion to have forgot those of his friend, Dr. Tillotson) of their being " a fit model for the preachers of the rising generation." Dr. Lupton himself was less persuaded of the perfection of his own discourses; for, I am well informed, that he desired, in his last illness, that they might not be published, acknowledging that he was not that great man, which the world had been so favourable as to mistake him to be. And, indeed, he had in some measure undeceived the judicious in his life-time, by his sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture at St. Paul's, which were thought by his friends and superiors so little equal to the subject, and his own character, that he was dissuaded from the publication of them.

The dispute upon this important question was revived by Mr. Whiston, in 1740, in a tract reprinted in 1752, and intitled, " The Eternity of Hell Torments inquired into, with a Refutation of the common Opinion concerning them from Scripture and Reason:" the main position of which he had laid down in a discourse written about September, 1707, and printed in his Sermons and Essays,† in 1709. Mr. Whiston's tract was answered by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Wm. Dodwell, rector of Shottesbrook, in Berkshire, in two sermons preached before the university of Oxford, in March, 1741, and printed there in 8vo. in 1743; in the preface to which he affirms, that the article of the eternity of future punishment " is so fundamental a part of the Christian religion, and so intimately united with its most essential doctrines, and is in itself the strongest enforcement of its practical duties, that it is scarce possible to attack it in a more vital branch, or more to lessen the influence of this great and gracious scheme for the reformation of mankind, than by weakening the sanctions with which the Divine Lawgiver has supported it."

Episcopius, the most justly celebrated writer among the Armenians, his Institutiones Theologicæ, and other writings, having contributed very much to the forming of some of the greatest divines of our country in the last age, and in particular Archbishop Tillotson himself, has, in his answer to the sixty-second question, De æternitate pœnarum inferni,‡ treated that subject in the same manner with his Grace. But whoever is curious to see it thoroughly discussed, may consult the several authors cited by the learned Dr. Edmund Law, archdeacon of Carlisle, in his notes upon his trans-

* Life of Bishop Bull, p. 491. † P. 220, 221.

‡ P. 67. Edit. Amsterdam, 1650, fol.

lation of Archbishop King's Latin discourse, " concerning the origin of evil."

Upon the meeting of the new parliament on the 20th of March, $16\frac{89}{90}$, their Majesties having appointed a fast, on the 16th of April following, to implore the Divine favour and blessing on their forces and preparations by sea and land, and for the preservation of the King's person, who was then determined to hazard it in Ireland against King James, though supported by a body of French troops, as well as the whole strength of the papists in that kingdom, the Dean was desired by the House of Commons to preach before them on that occasion. His sermon was upon Eccles. ix. 11, to shew, that " success is not always answerable to the probability of second causes." And, on another fast, on the 18th of June, 1690, he preached before the lord mayor and aldermen of London, on Jerem. vi. 8, pointing out the " way to prevent the ruin of a sinful people." This sermon he likewise published, with a dedication to Sir Thomas Pilkington, then lord mayor, in which he expressed his wishes, that it might have the good effect intended by him, for the reformation of manners, and reconciliation of the unhappy differences of that time; the latter of which topics he insists on with great force and pathos, complaining, that the unhappy and odious names and distinctions of parties, which had been laid aside during their common danger, were immediately after their deliverance by the Revolution revived with greater heats and animosities, if possible, than before. Nor were these two his only fast-sermons during that year; for he preached a third before the Queen, at Whitehall, on the 16th of September, 1690, upon Zech. vii. 5, " how to keep a truly religious fast." In this discourse he takes occasion to mention " the late wonderful deliverance under the conduct and valour of one of the best and bravest of princes," whom he styles " the great benefactor, not only to these nations, but even to all Europe, in asserting and maintaining their liberties against the insolent pride and unjust encroachments of one of the greatest oppressors the world had known for many ages;" to whom he beautifully applies the description of the leviathan in Job. He proposes likewise to the whole court the pattern set them by the Queen, " of a decent and unaffected devotion, of a most serious and steady attention, without wandering, without diversion, and without drowsiness. Such an example," adds he, " as I cannot but hope will in a short time gain upon us all, and by a more gentle and silent reproof win us to the imitation of it."

The see of Canterbury becoming vacant by the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroft on the 1st of February, $16\frac{8}{90}$, the King continued, for several months after, his importunities to the Dean for his acceptance of it; which he still endeavoured to avoid. In this situation he wrote the following letter to Lady Russel, which begins with a condolence upon the loss of two of her near relations, her sister, the Countess of Montague, and her nephew, Wriothesly Baptist, earl of Gainsborough, who died on the 21st of September, that year; the former of whom her Ladyship, in a letter to Bishop Burnet, on the 16th of October, describes as "so amiable a creature," that she deserved "to be remembered by all those who knew her:" and the latter "as a just, sincere man."

"* HONOURED MADAM, "*Edmonton, Oct.* 9, 1690.

"Since I had the honour of your letter, I was tempted to have troubled you with one of mine upon the sad occasion of your late great loss of two so near relations, and so near together. But I considered, why should I pretend to be able either to instruct or comfort my Lady Russel, who hath borne things much more grievous with so exemplary a meekness and submission to the will of God, and knows, as well as I can tell her, that there is no remedy in these cases but patience, nor any comfort but in the hopes of the happy meeting of our deceased friends in a better life, in which sorrow and tears shall have no more place to all eternity.

"And now I crave leave to impart something of my own trouble to your Ladyship.

"On Sunday last the King commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His Majesty renewed his former gracious offer in so pressing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of this matter, being well assured, that all that storm, which was raised in convocation the last year by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account; and that the Bishop of L—— was at the bottom of it, out of a jealousy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have. And I told his Majesty, that I was still afraid, that his kindness to me would

* From a copy in the possession of a late bishop of London.

be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far, as he was then pleased to speak. For I plainly saw they could not bear it; and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him. To which he replied, that if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it: and therefore he must desire me to think seriously of it; with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, that, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, though I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break through one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice at once all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced, that I was in any measure capable of doing his Majesty and the public that service, which he was pleased to think I was. He smiled, and said, 'you talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it, than in the condition in which you now are.' Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave.

"And now, madam, what shall I do? my thoughts were never at such a plunge. I know not how to bring my mind to it; and, on the other hand, though the comparison is very unequal, when I remember how I saw the King affected in the case of my Lord of Shrewsbury, I find myself in great strait, and would not for all the world give him the like trouble. I pray God to direct me to that, which he sees and knows to be best, for I know not what to do. I hope I shall have your prayers, and would be glad of your advice, if the King would spare me so long. I pray God to preserve you and your's.

"I am, honoured madam, &c.

"Jo. Tillotson."

To this letter her Ladyship returned an answer, a few days after, in these terms:

"The time seems to be come, that you must put anew in practice that submission you have so powerfully both tried yourself, and instructed others to. I see no place to escape it. You must take up the cross, and bear it. I faithfully believe it has the figure of a very heavy one to you, though not from the cares of it. The King guesses right; you toil more now. But this work is of your own choosing: and the dignity of the other is what you have bent

your mind against, and the strong resolve of your life has been to avoid. Had this even proceeded to a vow, it is, I think, like the virgins of old, to be dissolved by the father of your country. Again, though contemplation, and a few friends well chosen, would be your grateful choice; yet, if charity, obedience, and necessity call you into the world, and where enemies encompass round about, must not you accept it? and each of these, in my apprehension, determine you so to do. In short, it will be a noble sacrifice you will make; and I am confident you will find, as a reward, kind and tender supports, if you do take the burden upon you. There is, as it were, a commanding Providence in the manner of it. Perhaps I do as sincerely wish your thoughts at ease as any friend you have. But I think you may purchase that too dear: and if you should come to think so too, they would then be as restless as before. Sir, I believe you would be as much a common good as you can. Consider, how few of ability and integrity this age produces. Pray do not turn this matter too much in your head. When one has once turned it every way, you know that more does perplex; and one never sees the better for it. Be not stiff, if it be still urged to you. Conform to the Divine will, which has set it so strongly into the other's mind; and be content to endure. It is God calls you to it. I believe it was wisely said, that when there is no remedy, they will give over, and make the best of it. And so, I hope, no ill will terminate on the King, and they will lay up their arrows, when they perceive they will be shot in vain at him or you, upon whom no reflection, that I can think of, can be made, that is ingenuous; and what is pure malice, you are above being affected with. I wish, for many reasons, my prayers were more worthy; but, such as they are, I offer them with a sincere zeal to the throne of grace for you in this strait, that you may be led out of it, as shall best serve the great end and design of God's glory."

This letter contributed not a little to determine him at last to acquiesce in the King's pleasure, if his Majesty should still press him, who now insisted upon a peremptory answer. The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to Lady Russel.*

"HONOURED MADAM, "*October* 25, 1690.

"I AM obliged to your Ladyship beyond all expression, for taking my case so seriously into your consideration, and giving me your

* From a copy in short hand, in his common-place book

mature thoughts upon it. Nothing ever came more seasonably to me than your letter, which I received on Wednesday se'nnight, the very night before I was to have given my final answer to the King the next morning. I thank you for it. It helped very much to settle and determine my wavering mind. I weighed all you wrote, both your advice and your arguments, having not only an assurance of your true friendship and good will for me, but a very great regard and deference for your judgment and opinion. I cannot but own the weight of that consideration, which you are pleased to urge me withal; I mean the visible marks of a more than ordinary providence of God in this thing; that the King, who likes not either to importune, or to be denied, should, after so obstinate a declining of the thing on my part, still persist to press it upon me with so much kindness, and with that earnestness of persuasion, which it does not become me to mention. I wish I could think the King had a superior direction in this, as I verily believe he hath had in some things of much greater importance.

"The next morning I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the King coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, that in obedience to his Majesty's command I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him an answer. I perceived his Majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did on the Saturday morning after.

"Then I came again, and he took me into his closet, where I told him, that I could not but have a deep sense of his Majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it earnestly upon me. I said I would not presume to argue the matter any further, but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered, he would do so, if he could, but he knew not what to do, if I refused it. Upon that I told him, that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote (it) to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say, it was the best news had come to him this great while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand, for without that I doubt I am too sure of it; but requested of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said he thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up. I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge

to drive out the present archbishop: that some time before I was nominated, his Majesty would be pleased to declare in council, that since his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of their places. This I told him I humbly desired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harsh or which might reflect upon me, for now that his Majesty had thought fit to advance me to this station, my reputation was become his interest. He said he was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as I desired.

" I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which in justice to my family, especially my wife, I ought to do, that I should be more than undone by the great and necessary charge of coming into this place, and must therefore be an humble petitioner to his Majesty, that if it should please God to take me out of the world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and that he would graciously be pleased to consider, that a widow of an archbishop of Canterbury (which would be an odd figure in England) could not decently be supported by so little, as would have contented her very well, if I had died a dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer, 'I promise you to take care of her.'

" Just as I had finished the last sentence, another very kind letter from your Ladyship was brought to me, wherein I find your tender concern for me, which I can never sufficiently acknowledge. But you say, the die is now cast, and I must now make the best I can of what I lately thought was the worst that could have happened to me. I thank God I am more cheerful than I expected, and comfort myself as I can with this hope, that the providence of God, to which I have submitted my own will in this matter, will graciously assist me to discharge in some measure the duty he hath called me to.

" I did not acquaint my good friend, who wrote to you, with all that had passed, because it was intended to be a secret, which I am sure is safe in your hands. I only told him, that his Majesty did not intend as yet to dispose of this place; but when he did it, I was afraid it would be hard for me to escape.

" The King, I believe, has only acquainted the Queen with it, who, as she came out of the closet on Sunday last, commanded me to wait upon her after dinner, which I did; and after she had discoursed about another business (which was to desire my opinion of a treatise sent her in manuscript out of Holland, tending to the re-

conciliation of our differences in England) she told me, that the King had with great joy acquainted her with a secret concerning me, whereof she was no less glad; using many gracious expressions, and confirming his Majesty's promises concerning my wife.

" But I am sensible this is an intolerable letter, especially concerning one's self.

" I had almost forgot to mention Mr. Vaughan's* business. As soon as he brought your Ladyship's letter hither to me, I wrote immediately to Whitehall, and got the business stopped. The Bishop of St. David's had written up for some minister of a great town, but a small living in that diocese, that it might be bestowed on him, for his pains in that great town. The pretence is fair, but if the minister is no better a man than the Bishop, I am sure he is not worthy of it.

" I have been twice to wait upon my Lord Nottingham about it, but missed of him. When I have inquired farther into it, if the thing be fit to be done, I will do my best for Mr. Vaughan. And I beg of your Ladyship to make no difficulty of commanding my poor service upon any occasion, for I am always truly glad of the opportunity.

" I cannot forbear to repeat my humble thanks for your great concernment for me in this affair.

" That God would multiply his best blessings upon your Ladyship and your children, and make them great blessings and comforts to you, is the daily prayer of,

" Madam, your most obliged and most humble servant,

" J. T."

The Dean's remark to his Majesty, that the " widow of an archbishop would now be an odd figure in England," was founded upon this fact, that only two, who had filled the see of Canterbury, had been married, Cranmer and Parker. The former was indeed twice married, the first time before he was in orders, while he was only fellow of Jesus College, in Cambridge, his wife dying within a year in childbed.† He married his second wife in Germany, while he was ambassador there in 1530. She was niece to Osiander, the famous protestant pastor of Nuremberg; and was sent for by him into England in 1534, two years after he was made archbishop, where he kept her very privately till 1539; when, upon the six ar-

* Probably a relation of Lady Russel, whose first husband was Lord Vaughan, eldest son to the Earl of Carbery.

† Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, b. i. ch. 1, p. 2.

ticles being put in execution, she was obliged to return to her relations in Germany.* In the time of King Edward VI. when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he again brought her forth, and lived openly with her, and had children by her, who survived him, as she likewise did, being alive towards the latter end of Archbishop Parker's time, and enjoying for her subsistence an abbey in Nottinghamshire, which Henry VIII. upon the motion of Dr. Butts, his physician, without Archbishop Cranmer's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.† Archbishop Parker likewise married Margaret Harlestone, in June, 1547, in the forty-third year of his age,‡ in the reign of Edward VI. but she died before him.§

The reflection of the Dean, in the same letter, upon Dr. Thomas Watson, bishop of St. David's, shews what ill opinion was even at that time entertained of that prelate, whose enormities, in the article of simony, afterwards grew so public, as to subject him to a deprivation of his see. He had been educated in St. John's College, in Cambridge, of which he was fellow and tutor there, the memory of his avarice and arts of raising money still continuing in that College. His advancement to the bishopric of St. David's was in the reign of James II. in April, 1687. He owed it, according to Mr. Wood,‖ to the recommendation of Henry Jermyn, created Lord Dover, in May, 1685; but it was believed, as Bishop Burnet informs us,¶ that he gave money for it; and that historian describes him as one of the worst men, in all respects, whom he ever knew in holy orders, passionate, covetous, and false, in the blackest instances, without any one virtue or good quality to balance his many bad ones. The obnoxiousness of his character exposed him to many violent insults from the common people, upon the abdication of King James;** to whom he professed for some time so much fidelity, as to pretend to scruple the oaths to the new government. During which time, on the 28th of March, 1689, meeting with Sir John Reresby, governor of York, he asked that gentleman, whether he thought that he might safely take those oaths, having hitherto stood out, and being now cited to appear before the House of Lords. Sir John's answer was, that it was fittest for himself to be advised by his Lordship in such a case; and that certainly his own conscience could not but dictate to him what was right. But Sir

* Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 11, and 417, 418.
† Ibid. p. 418. ‡ Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 23. § Ibid. p. 511.
‖ Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1170. ¶ History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 226, 227.
** Wood, *ubi supra*.

John found the Bishop already resolved, who accordingly went the next day and complied,* though he continued still attached to his old master King James.† He was deprived in 1699 for simony, by Archbishop Tennison, whose sentence was afterwards confirmed by a court of delegates, to whom the deprived bishop had appealed,‡ as he did the year following to the House of Lords, where the affair was protracted, and his bishopric not disposed of some years,§ till the end of April, 1705, when it was given to Dr. George Bull,‖ whose Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, published in 1685, made him famous over Europe, and whose Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, printed in 1694, and written against Episcopius, in defence of the Anathema, as his former book had been of the Faith, declared at the first council of Nice, procured him, in 1700, the thanks of the general assembly of the bishops and clergy of France.

The Queen having put into the Dean's hands the manuscript treatise mentioned in his letter to Lady Russel of the 25th of October, 1690, to have been transmitted to her Majesty from Holland, he considered it with the utmost attention, and as soon as his health and engagements would permit, wrote an answer to the letter which the author of it had sent to him. The author was the learned Frederick Spanheim, professor of divinity at Leyden, and brother to Baron Ezekiel Spanheim, no less eminent for his profound knowledge in polite learning and antiquities, than for his embassies to several courts, and particularly to that of England. The Professor's treatise may be seen in the second volume of his works in the Leyden edition, in 1701, in folio, under the title of Judicium expetitium super dissidio Anglicano, et capitibus, quæ ad Unionem seu Comprehensionem faciunt. The Dean's letter to him upon the subject of it was dated the 6th of February, $169\frac{9}{1}$; and in it he excuses the delay of his answer on account of the ill state of his health, which obliged him to retire into the country, and, though better, was not yet fully re-established. He observes, that he had read the Professor's discourse upon peace and union between the church of England and the protestant dissenters with great satisfaction, on account of the excellent judgment and learning, singular knowledge of the discipline and rites of the ancient church, and, what was superior to all, the truly Christian temper, which appeared through the whole. That there were perhaps some few things, and those of no great moment (except the article of re-ordination), in which it would be a little difficult to find a tempera-

* Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, bart. p. 339. † Burnet, p. 227. ‡ Id. Ibid.
§ Ibid. p. 250, 251, and 406. ‖ Ibid.

ment, by which the contending parties might be brought to an agreement. For that the common people of our church, as well as those of the dissenting congregations, had their superstitions and prejudices, to which it was right and proper to have some regard in the concessions to be made by our church, lest the former being offended, might revolt from our's to that of Rome. That it would be tedious to enter into the detail now; but that there would be a much more fit place for discoursing upon it, when a nearer opportunity should offer. "Dr. Stillingfleet," adds he, "now bishop of Worcester, mentioned by you in your letter, a person, of whom our church deservedly boasts, is still in the same opinion with us. And there are very many others, and those the glories and ornaments of our church, who seem to have strong inclinations to peace and concord. I do not presume to rank myself in their number, being not at all to be compared with such great and excellent men; although you, reverend sir, out of your humanity and extreme kindness to me, ascribe too much to my judgment in these controversies. One thing, in my opinion, is to be deeply regretted, that there are many on both sides, of our church, as well as among the dissenters, who know not the means nor way of peace: I cannot therefore foresee what will at last be the issue of these pacific counsels. As affairs now stand in England, I think nothing of this kind should be attempted for the present; but that we ought to wait till the times grow more disposed to peace; a period which, if our brave King shall, through the Divine assistance, meet with the success wished for by all good men, I presage is not far distant. For what is to be despaired of under the auspices of such religious and prudent princes, as our King and Queen? For this reason, if you will attend to my opinion, you will do right and wisely to suspend the publication of your treatise till a more probable hope of success shall appear." The Dean then refers him to the Earl of Portland, as a sincere friend and promoter of the scheme of pacification, who would more amply explain these things, and the whole state of affairs in England: and concludes with desiring his excuse for the negligence of his Latin style, which it was not agreeable to him to return to the use of, after a discontinuance of above thirty years, almost his whole life having been spent in preaching, and all other branches of the pastoral duty. But this excuse was unnecessary in a letter, which the learned reader will find written with the utmost purity and elegance.*

* From the original draught in his own hand in his common-place book.

"Viro admodum reverendo Domino *Frederico Spanhemio*, in academiâ Lugd. Batav. S. Theol. Professori dignissimo.

"QUOD literis tuis, vir clarissime, sanè quam humanissimis non citius rescripserim, causa fuit adversa valetudo; cui ut mederer, et animum recrearem atque reficerem, rus ire necesse mihi fuit: nunc autem, gratia Dei, commodiore quidem utor valetudine, at nondum etiam bene confirmatâ.

"Tractatum de pace et unione dissentientium apud nos Protestantium cum ecclesiâ Anglicanâ tuum, quem mecum serenissima Regina communicavit, avide perlegi et summâ cum delectatione. In eo judicium acre idemque subactum, eruditionem eximiam, in antiquioris ecclesiæ disciplinâ ritibusque peritiam singularem, et, quod præcipuum est, mentem et animum vere Christianum, ubique deprehendi. Pauca fortasse sunt, et eadem haud ita magni momenti (articulum de sacris ordinibus iterandis excipio) in quibus paulo difficilius erit invenire temperamentum, cujus ope partes inter se litigantes aliquando concordare possint. Ecclesiæ enim nostræ plebs, non secus ac dissentientium cætuum, suas etiam habet superstitiones et opiniones præjudicatas; cujus ut ratio habeatur in rebus ab ecclesiâ nostrâ concedendis jus et æquum est, ne offensa deficiat a nobis ad ecclesiam Romanam. Longum adeo foret ea nunc singillatim persequi; multo commodior erit de his disserendi locus, cum occasio propior advenerit.

"Stillingfletius ille noster, nunc ecclesiæ Vigorniensis episcopus, cujus in tuis ad me literis mentionem facis, de quo ecclesia nostra merito gloriatur, is etiam nunc in eadem, quâ nos, sententiâ perstat. Porrò sunt alii permulti, et hi ecclesiæ nostræ decora et ornamenta, in quibus magna videtur esse animorum inclinatio ad pacem et concordiam. In horum me numerum referre mihi non assumo, tantis et tam præclaris viris neutiquam comparandus; tametsi tu, vir reverende, pro humanitate tuâ et summâ erga me benevolentiâ nimio plus tribuis judicio meo de his controversiis. Unum magnoperè dolendum censeo, multos esse ex utraque parte, tum ecclesiæ nostræ, tum dissentientium, qui rationem et viam pacis non nôrunt. Quem igitur exitum hæc consilia pacis tandem habitura sint divinare nequeo. Ut nunc est in Angliâ, nihil hujusmodi impræsentiarum tentandum arbitror, sed expectandum donec tempora magis pacata fuerint; quæ, si fortissimo Regi, juvante Deo, omnia prosperè et ex bonorum omnium sententiâ ceciderint, non procul abesse

auguror. Quid enim desperandum sub auspiciis religiosissimorum et prudentissimorum principum; Regis, dico, nostri et Reginæ? Qua propter si me audis, vir eximie, rectè sapienterque feceris, si tractatum tuum in vulgus edere distuleris, quoad certior, spes secundi successûs affulserit.

Illustrissimus Comes Portlandius, consilii hujus pacifici ex animo fautor et adjutor, hæc omnia et universum rerum nostrarum statum fusiùs exponet; cui si studium meum et obsequium confirmare volueris, gratissimum mihi feceris.

"Condonabis mihi, spero, negligentiam purioris Latinitatis, ad quam invitus admodum redeo post triginta plus annorum desuetudinem, quoniam in concionibus habendis, et in omni pastorali munere obeundo ætatem penè consumsi. Veniam igitur pro hac re a candore tuo petit, is, quem ubique cognosces,

"Vir clarissime,
"Reverentiæ tuæ addictissimum atque omni
"Officiorum genere et obsequio devinctissimum,

Feb. 6. 169$\frac{9}{1}$. "Jo. Tillotson."

"Amicum tuum, cui literas ad me dedisti, non vidi ex quo mihi "eas reddidit. Hominem investigabo, cum ad aulam rediero, "ac libens juvabo quâ ratione cunque potero."

A few days after this letter the Dean wrote from Edmonton another, on the 16th of that month, to Mr. Nelson, then at Florence, in answer to two lately received from him. In that letter, after having mentioned some affair, in which his friendship for that gentleman had engaged him to make use of his interest with the King, he takes notice of the report of the death of the Pope, Alexander VIII. of a Venetian family, of the name of Ottoboni, who had sat in the papal chair almost a year and a half. "If the report be true," says he, "we are no otherwise concerned in the loss of him, than of any other foreign prince, who did little or no good whilst he lived. We could spare even the King of France, if God thought fit to dispose of him the same way." He observes, likewise, that the preparations then making, both by sea and land, were the greatest that England ever saw, and in the greatest forwardness; and that Lord Preston had "laid open all; which," says he, "will affect a great many." This Lord, who was son of Sir George Graham, of Netherby, in Cumberland, bart. had been educated at Christ Church, in Oxford, were he was created master of arts on

the 27th of March, 1667.* He was created Viscount Preston in Scotland by King Charles II. who sent him, in the beginning of the year 1682, envoy extraordinary to the court of France, being attended thither by Mr. Wake, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, as chaplain to him. While his Lordship resided at Paris he procured the suppression of the Abbot Primi's History of the Dutch War, printed there in 1682, and containing an account of the secret treaty between France and England, negociated by Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, with her brother King Charles, at Dover, in May, 1669.† Upon his return from thence, in the beginning of James II.'s reign, he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence of that King, by whom he was made secretary of state upon the removal of the Earl of Sunderland, on the 28th of October, 1688, and designed to be advanced to an English peerage, with the title of Viscount Preston, in Amounderness, in Lancashire; but his patent was not passed the great seal before the abdication of that King. Being engaged afterwards in a plot with the Earl of Clarendon, Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely, and others, in favour of King James, he was seized on the 30th of December, 1690, going to France with Mr. John Ashton and Mr. Elliot; and, on the 17th of January, tried at the Old Bailey, and condemned for high-treason; but, after acting a very weak and irresolute part, redeemed his life by his discoveries; while his companion, Mr. Ashton, submitted to death with great firmness and decency. His Lordship was a man of excellent parts and learning; and gave the public, in 1695, as the fruits of his retirement, a translation of Boetius's discourse Of the Consolation of Philosophy, illustrated with notes, and a life of the author, who was distinguished by being one of the last, who made any figure in literature or genius in Italy, then sinking into barbarism through the irruption of the northern nations.

In the same letter the Dean touches upon the seduction of Lady Theophila Nelson and her daughter from the protestant religion, and prays, that God would *preserve* Mr. Nelson and her son, Sir Berkley Lucy, *in the truth;* "and so," adds he, "I do for those, that are fallen from it, that God would grant them repentance to the acknowledgment of it. I pity poor Miss, who is more innocently seduced; but my Lady much more, considering the degree of her understanding, and the difference of the two religions."

About this time the Dean was solicitous to procure by his interest at court some reward for a divine of great merit and learning,

* Wood. Fast. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 167. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 301.

Mr. John Hartcliffe,* B. D. and fellow of King's College, in Cambridge, who had just published, in 8vo. at London, an excellent system of Ethics, under the title of A Treatise of moral and intellectual Virtues; wherein their Nature is fully explained, and their Usefulness proved, as being the best Rules of Life, and the Causes of their Decay are inquired into; concluding with such Arguments, as tend to revive the Practice of them. With a Preface, shewing the Vanity and Deceitfulness of Vice. This author, in his preface, having premised a remark, that the world has ever had its vicissitudes and periods of virtue and wickedness, and that all nations have advanced themselves to their power and grandeur by sobriety, wisdom, and a tender regard of religion; expresses his hopes, that "upon the late wonderful Revolution the English nation might recover its ancient virtues, that had been too long under the oppression of debauchery, which hath been an evil of so great malignity, as to threaten ruin to the very constitution of the government. Therefore," adds he, "the providence of God hath sent us a Prince for our deliverer, whose piety is set off with the whole train of moral virtues; whose temperance is so great and impregnable amidst all those allurements, with which the palaces of kings are apt to meet even the most resolved minds, that at the same time he doth both teach and upbraid the court." Mr. Hartcliffe, who was born about the year 1650, at Harding, near Henley, in Oxfordshire, had been educated at Eton School; and thence removed to be a servitor in Magdalen College, in Oxford, in 1666, and the year following was scholar of Edmund Hall, where he continued a year, and was then chosen a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards fellow, and in 1681 master of Merchant Tailors' School, in London. After the Revolution King William appointed him by mandamus master of King's College; the fellows of which opposing the admission of him, his Majesty left them to their free choice; and Mr. Hartcliffe was, by the recommendation of his friend, Dean Tillotson, preferred to the canonry of Windsor.

The King's nomination of the Dean to the archbishopric of Canterbury, had been agreed between them to be postponed till after the breaking up of the session of parliament, which was prorogued on the 5th of January, 169$\frac{9}{1}$; when it was thought proper to defer it still longer, on account of his Majesty's voyage to Holland, in which he embarked on the 16th of that month, and ar-

* MS. letter of Lady Russel to Dr. Fitz-Williams, Feb. 169$\frac{9}{1}$.

rived there, after a very dangerous passage, to attend the congress at the Hague of all the confederate princes and states for concerting measures, in order to preserve the liberties of Europe against France. Upon the conclusion of that congress, the King went to the army near Brussels; and, upon the surrender of Mons, on the 1st of April, to Lewis XIV. who had attended that siege in person, his Majesty came back to England, arriving at Whitehall on the 13th of that month; but continued there but a short time, returning on the 1st of May to the campaign in Flanders.

While his Majesty staid in England, he was resolved to fill the vacant sees, from which he had been hitherto diverted by the Dean's advice, who was reproached for it by the King at his return from Flanders, and was now obliged himself to consent to his Majesty's nomination of him to the archbishopric in council, on the 23d of April, 1691. Immediately after this public declaration he went to the deprived Archbishop still at Lambeth, and sent in his name by several servants, and staid a long time for an answer, but was forced to return without receiving any; an incivility, which he had not at all deserved of his predecessor, whose reputation, integrity, and wisdom, when aspersed by others, he had often vindicated to the King.*

The *conge d'eslire* being granted on the 1st of May, he was elected on the 16th, confirmed on the 28th, and having retired to his house on Saturday, the 30th, which he spent in fasting and prayer, in the manner represented from his own account in shorthand as it appears in his works, was consecrated the day following, being Whitsunday, in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, by Dr. Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester; Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol; and Dr. John Hough, bishop of Oxford, in the presence of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Marquis of Carmarthen, lord president of the council, William Earl of Devonshire, Charles Earl of Dorset, Charles Earl of Macclesfield, Thomas Earl of Falconberg, Robert Lord Lucas, and divers other persons of rank,† who attended the solemnity, to express the great esteem and respect, which they had for his Grace, and the satisfaction which they had in his promotion. The consecration sermon was preached on John xxi. 17. by Mr. Ralph Barker, afterwards his chaplain, whom

* Mr. Wharton's MS. collections. † Gazette, p. 2686. and Le Neve, p. 228.

his Grace had desired to perform that office, with an absolute restriction, that nothing should be said in it with relation to himself; and in the letter, which he wrote to him on that occasion, on the 17th of April, he expressed a strong sense of the weight of what he had long dreaded, and was now fallen upon him.

Four days after his consecration, June 4th, he was sworn of the privy council, and on the 11th of July had a restitution of the temporalities of his see. The Queen likewise granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, which amounted to above 2500*l.* He continued to live at the deanery of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth house for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the Archbishop's lodgings, wainscoted many rooms, and made other improvements there.* Which being finished, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own hand-writing, on the 26th of November, 1691.

As he had now submitted, after a long and unaffected resistance, to the acceptance of this great station, he formed at the same time two resolutions, from which he never departed. The one was, that whenever the state of their Majesties' affairs was such, that he could hope to be dismissed from that post, he would become a most importunate suitor to be delivered from it. The other was, that if the infirmities of age should so far overtake him, that he could not go through the fatigue and labour of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their Majesties; and he charged some of his most particular friends to use all freedom with him, if they should observe it, before it was perceived by himself.†

His promotion was attended with the usual compliments of congratulation, out of respect either to himself or to his station; among which he received a Latin letter from the warden and fellows of All Souls' College, in Oxford, presented to him by Dr. Thomas Millington, afterwards knighted by King William, to whom he was physician, and Dr. Adams, on the 5th of June, 1691. To which he returned an answer, dated at Edmonton, in which he returned his acknowledgments for their expression of good-will, though he could not accept of the high compliments, with which they had almost oppressed him; and promised for himself, that he would

* Mr. Wharton's MS. collections.

† Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 24.

always shew himself an encourager and patron of good learning, and upon all occasions a zealous friend to their college.*

"ACCEPI literas vestras humanissimas, in quibus benevolentiam perspicio et gratus agnosco; laudes verò immensas, quibus me immeritò cumulatis et penè obruitis, agnoscere non possum. Hoc vobis de meipso polliceri ausim, me semper fore ingenuæ literaturæ et bonarum artium fautorem et præsidium. Collegii vestri dignitatem et privilegia, quotiescunque occasio obvenerit, pro virili parte defendam et protegam; vestrum omnium patrocinium suscipio, vosque libens semper juvabo qua ratione cunque potero. Valete, viri clarissimi.

"Dabam Edmonton, 1691."

He returned likewise the following answer to Lady Coventry.†

"HONOURED MADAM, "*June* 11, 1691.

"THE perpetual hurry, in which I have been ever since I received the favour of your Ladyship's very kind letter, would not till now allow me time to make an acknowledgment of it, as I ought to have done. But I hope your goodness will excuse what I could not help. It is no small comfort to me, madam, to have the good wishes of so worthy a person, whom I so justly esteem. But after all I cannot but be sensible of the burden I stand under, and which I was so very unwilling should have been laid upon me. And I do still shrink at the thoughts of it. But I hope that God, whose providence hath cast it upon me, will support me under it, who depend only on his grace and help. I heartily pray for your Ladyship's life and health, that you may still continue to do more good, and to increase the reward of well-doing, which is laid up for you in a better world. I am, madam, with great respect,

"Your Ladyship's most faithful and humble servant,

"Jo. CANT."

The primate of Ireland, Dr. Michael Boyle, who died in 1702, at the age of ninety-three, after filling the post of lord chancellor of that kingdom, as well as the highest station in the church there, having likewise sent two letters to our Archbishop, he wrote the following answer:‡

* From the original draught in his MS. volume abovementioned.

† From his own draught in short-hand.

‡ Ibid.

" MY LORD, " *June* 11, 1691.

" EVER since I received your Grace's very kind and welcome letter, I have been in so continual a hurry, that I have not had time to acknowledge the favour of it, as I ought to have done. But I hope your Grace will excuse what I could not well help. I am, my Lord, as I have great reason, very sensible how unable (I am) to sustain the weight of that great charge, which their Majesties have laid upon me, not only without my desire, but very much against my inclination. But I hope that God, who has called me to this station, and upon whose grace and help I do humbly depend, will be pleased to assist and enable me in some measure to a faithful discharge; and I hope I shall have the benefit of your Grace's prayers to this purpose.

" As to your former letter, dated three days before, concerning a coadjutor for the bishopric of Down, I never heard the least syllable of it: and, if any such were designed, I would oppose it to my power, as an example of very ill consequence. I think it much fitter to have the bishopric made void, for the Bishop's scandalous neglect of his charge.

" If there be any thing, wherein I may be useful to your Grace, or to the church, over which you preside, I shall always be ready, upon the least advice or intimation from your Grace, to do all good offices to both.

" I commit your Grace to God's holy protection and comfort, and ever remain,

" May it please your Grace,

" Your Grace's truly affectionate brother and most faithful servant,

" JO. CANT.

" P. S. Will your Grace give me leave to trouble you with a tender of my humble service to your worthy son, my Lord Blessington?"

The Bishop of Down, mentioned in this letter, was Dr. Thomas Hacket, to whom the Archbishop had been near thirty years before curate at Cheshunt, and who had enjoyed that bishopric ever since the year 1672, but with so little regard to his pastoral office, that he had spent most of that time in England; on which account he was suspended on the 13th of March, 169$\frac{3}{4}$, and, on the 21st of the same month, deprived for simony, in conferring ecclesiastical

benefices, and other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction.*

The congratulations to the new archbishop were soon followed by a very opposite treatment from the nonjuring party, the greatest part of whom, from the moment of his acceptance of the archbishopric, pursued him with an unrelenting rage, which lasted during his life, and was by no means appeased after his death. Before he was consecrated to the see, Mr. Dodwell, who was deprived of the Camdenian lecture of history in Oxford, in November, 1691, wrote to him a letter, dated the 12th of May, to dissuade him from being "the aggressor," says he,† "in the new-designed schism, in erecting another altar against the hitherto-acknowledged altar of your deprived fathers and brethren. If their places be not vacant, the new consecration must, by the nature of the *spiritual* monarchy, be null, and invalid, and schismatical." This very learned, but equally obscure and prejudiced writer affirms likewise, that such as were concerned in this practice, cut themselves off from the communion, of which they were before members; as did all others who joined with them; which he endeavours to illustrate by instances in the first ages of the church, and particularly that of Athanasius; alleging, that those who would be bishops in the room of the deprived, must seek for new principles; and that if they should pretend lay-authority as sufficient, they would overthrow the being of a church as a society, and put it in the power of persecuting princes to ruin it.

This letter of Mr. Dodwell was written with much greater mildness and moderation, than another which was sent to the Archbishop's lady, for him, and a copy of it to the Countess of Derby, for the Queen, and published in print soon after. It called upon him to reconcile his actings, since the Revolution, with the principles either of natural or revealed religion, or those of his own letter to Lord Russel, which was reprinted upon this occasion. The writer of it is said by Dr. Hickes,‡ to be a person of "great candour and judgment," and once "a great admirer" of the Archbishop; though he was afterwards so much prejudiced against him, that after his Grace's death he declared to Dr. Hickes, that he thought him an "atheist, as much as a man could be, though the gravest

* Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 213. Edit. Dublin, fol.

† Appendix to the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, p. viii. and Life of Mr. Henry Dodwell, by Francis Brokesby, B.D. p. 220.

‡ Some Discourses, p. 40.

certainly," said he, " that ever was." Dr. Francis Lee, the compiler of Mr. Kettlewell's Life, from the collections of Dr. Hickes and Mr. Nelson, who has reprinted this letter in that book,* thinks it to have been written by one of Mr. Kettlewell's friends; and the late editor of it, in a collection of pamphlets formed chiefly from those of Lord Sommers, has prefixed to it the name of Charlewood Lawton, Esq. as well as to several other political pieces in that collection. But whoever the writer was, he has intermixed the severest expostulations with the Archbishop, and suggestions against his sincerity, for his *apostacy*, as he calls it, from what he had formerly preached and written, with frequent compliments to his " knowledge, judgment, largeness of spirit, moderation, and many other good qualities, that have," says he, " signalized your name, and once made you one of the greatest ornaments of the Christian church, one of the greatest exemplars of sound morality, and all that philosophers call virtue."

But this and other libels were so far from exasperating his Grace to revenge against the persons concerned in dispersing them, that when some of them were seized on that account, he used all his interest with the government to cover them from punishment. This may be seen in the following letter to Lady Russel.†

" HONOURED MADAM, " *June* 23, 1691.

" I RECEIVED your Ladyship's letter, together with that to Mr. Fox, which I shall return to him on Wednesday morning, when I have desired Mr. Kemp to send him to me.

" I intreat you to give my very humble service to my Lord of Bedford, and to let his Lordship know how far I have been concerned in this affair. I had notice first from Mr. Attorney-general and Mr. Solicitor, and then from my Lord ————, that several persons, upon the account of publishing and dispersing several libels against me, were secured, in order to prosecution. Upon which I went to wait upon them severally, and earnestly desired of them, that nobody might be punished upon my account. That this was not the first time I had experience of this kind of malice, which, how unpleasant soever to me, I thought it the wisest way to neglect, and the best to forgive, it. None of them said any thing to me of my Lord Russel, nor did it ever come into my thought to hinder any prosecution upon his account, whose reputation, I can truly say, is much dearer to me than mine own; and I was much more

* Page 233, *et seq.* † From his draught in short-hand.

troubled at the barbarous usage done to his memory, and especially since they have aggravated it by dispersing more copies; and, as I find by the letter to Mr. Fox, are supported in their insolence by a strong combination, I cannot but think it very fit for my Lord Bedford to bring them to condign punishment.

"Twice last week I had my pen in my hand to have provoked you to a letter, and that I might once in my life have been beforehand with you in this way of kindness. I was both times hindered by the breaking in of company upon me. The errand of it would have been to have told you, that whether it be from stupidity, or from a present astonishment at the danger of my condition, or from some other cause, I find, that I bear the burden I dreaded so much, a good deal better than I could have hoped. David's acknowledgment to God runs in my mind, *'Who am I, O Lord God, or what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto; and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree, O Lord God?' I hope that the same providence of God, which hath over-ruled me in this thing, will some way or other turn it to good.

"The Queen's extraordinary favour to me, to a degree much beyond my expectation, is no small support to me; and I flatter myself with hopes, that my friends will continue their kindness to me; especially that the best friend I ever had will not be the less so to me, now that I need friends most.

"I pray to God continually to preserve you and your's, and particularly at this time, to give my Lady Cavendish a happy meeting with her Lord, and to grant them both a long and happy life together. I am, madam,

"Your most faithful and humble servant,

"Jo. Cant."

Soon after the date of this letter, the Archbishop wrote the following answer† to two, which he had received from Mr. Nelson; one from Florence, dated May 3, 1691; the other from Venice, of May 25, 1691.

"Since I last wrote to my dear friend, I have received from him two letters; one from Florence, dated May 3; the other, from Venice, May 25, 1691.

"In answer to the first, I sent Sir B. Lucy's letter to my Lady Berkley, and have seen my Lord since; but he said nothing to it,

* 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17. † From his draught in short-hand.

nor did I expect he would, since there was nothing in it, but what to me seemed fit and reasonable.

"My son* hath no place at court, nor did I ever mention him to the King, but only to beg leave of his Majesty for him to attend upon him into Holland, where he met with great civilities both from my Lord † and Lady Dursley. I never ask any thing of the King, unless upon the account of charity for persons in distress, and whom he had reason to consider; as the poor French and Irish protestants; or for some poor widows, whose husbands have died in his service, and for whom nobody else will speak; or else to do some good office for a friend, which costs the King nothing; and this but very rarely. And indeed I have no need to ask any thing of him, who hath done for me what I was so far from desiring, that I did for past a year and a half decline it with all my might: and yet have I no reason to doubt, but that upon the least intimation of my desire he would willingly give my son any place that is fit for him. But as well as I love my son, I can hardly bring myself to ask any thing. I had much rather the King would prevent me; or, if he do not, I believe the Queen will. And I should not be a little pleased to have him one of the commissioners of the customs, for which he is much fitter than for any other place that I know. And I am the more desirous to have something done for him, not only for the sake of my grandchildren, but because he is so very kind to us, and considers so well what becomes him and me, that though he is still willing to live with me, he will not only take no place from me, but has not so much as spoken to me for any person whatsoever; nor will he ever intermeddle either in the ordering of my family, or in any of my affairs as archbishop; so that the ——

"You see with what freedom I write to my friend, just as if I were talking with him.

"To your letter of May 25th, I know not what to say, but that love is blind, and yet thinks it sees that in a friend, which the friend cannot find in himself. I consider, likewise, that this comes from one, who hath lived a great while in a climate to which civility is natural, and where it reigns in perfection.

"I am very sensible, that I come into a difficult place in a very difficult time; and I shrink at the thought of the burden I stand under. And yet if I could but hope to be able to do any consider-

* In-law, James Chadwicke, Esq.

† Charles Lord Dursley, who was called up to the House of Peers July 11, 1689, by the title of Baron Berkley, of Berkley, and the same year sent envoy extraordinary to Holland.

able good to this miserably distracted and divided church and nation, I should esteem it a full recompense for all the trouble I foresee I must undergo. And, without this, by what I have already found, I can tell you, that nothing in this world can make amends for the perpetual hurry and uneasiness I have been in for these six weeks last past.

" I have heretofore had plentiful experience of the persecution of railing; which is by no means pleasant, but is very tolerable in comparison of the persecution of flattery. God and time can only tell what a man will prove in any condition. But I hope I cannot so far mistake myself, as not to be able to assure you, that no change of fortune can alter my mind towards you. The station in which I am now placed is much more likely to make me weary of my life than of my friends.

" Since this calamity befel me, I have not yet had time to deliver Sir Berkley's letter to his sister, which I intend to do at my first leisure. I was loth to visit her at Mr. Knox's; and it is less fit now. I think to send for her over to Mr. Beale's, and there to talk with her.

" My wife and my son desire to have their very humble services presented to yourself and my Lady, to whom, and Sir B. L. I intreat you to tender mine.

" I am glad that we are like to see you sooner than you thought. I pray God to preserve you all, and bring you safe to your friends; amongst whom I hope you will always reckon,

" Dear sir, your faithful friend and servant,

" Jo. Cant.

" P. S. You may think, sir, by this letter, that time lies upon my hands; but it is you that lie so near my heart."

The Archbishop's friendship for Dr. Sharp, his successor in the deanery of Canterbury, would not let him rest, till he had formed an expedient for removing the King's displeasure conceived against that Dean upon this occasion. His Majesty had been pleased to mention Dr. Sharp as a proper person to succeed in some of the bishoprics vacated by the deprivation of the nonjuring bishops. Two or three were accordingly proposed to him. Norwich in particular was pressed by Dr. Tillotson, as the place which he thought would be most acceptable. But Dr. Sharp absolutely declined to accept of any of them; not out of any scruple of conscience, for he could not, under such a scruple, have either made a return to the

conge d'eslire for the election of Dr. Tillotson to Canterbury, which he did, as daen thereof; nor could he have suffered himself to have been consecrated by Dr. Tillotson, as he was soon after, but out of a particular friendship and esteem which he had for the persons deprived. This, however, displeased the King, and Dr. Sharp seemed to be no longer thought of. While he was in this situation, Dr. Tillotson came to his house on Friday, the 24th of April, 1691, the day after his own nomination to the archbishopric, and told him, that since he had so obstinately refused taking any of the vacant bishoprics, he had thought of a method to bring him off with the King; which was, that he should promise to accept the archbishopric of York, when it fell, as Dr. Tennison should take Lincoln. He told him, at the same time, how all the vacant bishoprics were designed to be disposed of; observing, that he had thought of this scheme, as he came from Whitehall to his house; and directing him to go and acquaint the Earl of Nottingham with it; and, if his Lordship approved of it, he would himself propose it to the King on the Monday following. Accordingly, on that day he acquainted his Majesty with what had passed between Dr. Sharp and himself, and fixed the affair. In consequence of which, on the next council-day, in the middle of the same week, the King declared there who should fill the vacant sees, and who should succeed into York and Lincoln, when they should fall; and Archbishop Lamplugh dying on the 5th of May, Dr. Sharp was consecrated to the see of York on the 5th of July following.*

Another of Archbishop Tillotson's friends, whom he was desirous to promote, was Dr. Thomas Burnet, author of the Theory of the Earth, who had been his pupil at Clare Hall, in Cambridge. He was born at Croft, in Yorkshire, and his first education was at the free school of North Alverton, in that county, under Mr. Thomas Smelt, who used to propose him as an example to the rest of his scholars.† Thence he was removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner, under the tuition of Mr. Tillotson, on the 26th of June, 1651; but removed to Christ's College, in 1654, upon Dr. Cudworth's being made master of that college, and in 1657 became fellow of it, and in 1661 senior proctor of the university. He was governor to Charles Duke of Bolton, and to James Earl of Ossory, afterwards Duke of Ormond, and grandson to James the first Duke of Ormond, and by the interest of that

* Letter of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Sharp, Nov. 7th, 1751.

† Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, p. 13.

Duke was chosen master of the Charter House, in 1685, though he had been excepted to by those bishops, who were of the number of electors, on account of his wearing a lay-habit; his Grace being satisfied, that he had the more essential qualifications of manners and conversation in all respects suitable to his clerical character. In this post he opposed the admission of Andrew Popham, a Roman catholic, as a pensioner of the house, though enforced by a letter from King James II. dated December 26, 1686, dispensing with the statutes of it; and this opposition being vigorously supported by the other governors, except the Lord Chancellor Jefferys, the King desisted from pursuing the affair. After the Revolution, Dr. Burnet, whose Telluris Theoria Sacra, printed at London, in 1681, in 4to, had raised him a great reputation in the learned world, was in a situation to have improved his interest for his advancement, if his own temper would have suffered him. Nor could he have failed of this, when he was brought to court by the Archbishop, succeeding his Grace as clerk of the closet to King William, whose character he has drawn with great strength and elegance in the dedication of his Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, printed at London, 1692, in 4to. if the offence taken from his manner of treating the story of the fall, and his imaginary dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, (which he afterwards desired a Dutch bookseller in a letter of his, which I have read,* to suppress in a new edition of that book then printing in Holland) had not disabled him from any other preferments, and even obliged the King to remove him from his office at court. He died at the Charter House, on the 27th of September, 1715, at a very advanced age. Besides his writings so well known to, and so justly esteemed by, the world, he was likewise author of three small pieces published without his name, under the title of Remarks upon an Essay concerning Human Understanding, in a Letter addressed to the Author, London, 1697, in 4to. Second Remarks, &c. being a Vindication of the first Remarks against the Answer of Mr. Locke at the End of his Reply to the Lord Bishop of Worcester, printed there the same year; and Third Remarks, &c. in 1699: which Remarks were answered by Mrs. Catharine Trotter, afterwards Mrs. Cockburn, then but twenty-three years of age, in her Defence of Mr. Locke's Essay, published at London, in May, 1702.

The successor of the Archbishop in the deanery of St. Paul's was Dr. William Sherlock, who owed it to his Grace's recommendation

* It was shewn me by the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, preacher to the Charter House.

and interest, and was installed in it on the 15th of July, 1691. This eminent Divine, whose practical writings will make him as much known to posterity, as his controversial did in his own time, was born in Southwark about the year 1641, and educated at Eton School; thence removed to Peter House, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1660, and master in 1665, as he did that of doctor of divinity in 1680. His first preferments in London was that of the rectory of St. George, Botolph Lane, to which he was presented August 3d, 1669, as he was to the prebend of Pancras, in the church of St. Paul's, November 3d, 1681. Three years after he was made master of the Temple. During the popish controversy, in the reign of King James II. he was one of the most considerable writers on the protestant side. After the Revolution, he for some time refused the oaths to the new government, which shewed great indulgence to him on that occasion, by not taking the forfeiture of his preferments. But at last, in 1690, his scruples being entirely removed by Bishop Overal's acts and canons of the convocation, begun in the first year of King James I. he took the oaths to their Majesties, and immediately published his reasons in his Case of the Allegiance due to the sovereign Powers, licensed for the press the 17th of October that year; which drew upon him the resentments of the whole jacobite party, vented upon all occasions in the most indecent language. Nor was he treated with greater civility by Dr. South, who had himself submitted to the government than by Dr. Hickes, or Mr. Collier. He died at Hampstead, near London, on the 19th of June, 1707, in the 67th year of his age, having been some years before succeeded in the mastership of the Temple by his son, the Lord Bishop of London.

Soon after the Archbishop's promotion, Lady Russel having, on the 24th of July, 1691, written a letter to the Queen in favour of Richard Vaughan, Esq. knight of the shire for the county of Caermarthen, a near relation of her first husband, the Lord Vaughan, that he might succeed Col. Herbert, as auditor of Wales, a place worth 400*l.* a-year, she requested his Grace to deliver it to her Majesty. This he accordingly did, though he wrote to her Ladyship on the 25th, before he had presented her letter to the Queen, that he apprehended the place to be already disposed of; which was likewise the opinion of her Majesty, whose answer to Lady Russel, on the 30th of that month, contains some passages, on account of which I have mentioned this affair, and which cannot be omitted in justice to the sentiments of a princess more conspicuous

for her personal accomplishments of understanding and disposition, than her external dignity. "You are very much in the right," says her Majesty, "to believe, I have cause enough to think this life not so fine a thing, as, it may be, others do, that I lead at present. Besides the pain I am almost continually in for the King, it is so contrary to my own inclination, that it can be neither easy nor pleasant. But I see one is not ever to live for one's self. I have had many years of ease and content, and was not so sensible of my own happiness, as I ought, till I lost it. But I must be content with what it pleases God, and this year have great reason to praise him hitherto for the successes in Ireland;* the news of which came so quick upon one another, that made me fear we had some ill to expect from other places. But I trust in God, that will not be, though it looks, as if we must hope for little good either from Flanders or sea. The King continues, God be praised, very well; and though I tremble at the thoughts of it, yet I cannot but wish a battle well over. And for that at sea, I wish it as heartily as Mr. Russel† himself."

Mr. Nelson, who was at the Hague in December of this year, 1691, in the house of his brother-in-law, Lord Dursley, envoy extraordinary to the States-general, and was fixed in his resolution not to acknowledge the government of the King and Queen, thought proper now to consult the Archbishop with regard to the practice of those nonjurors, who frequented the churches, and yet professed, that they did not join in the prayers for their Majesties. His Grace's answer to Mr. Nelson's question was dated December 15th, 1691, in these words: "As to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided in opinion about it. I think it plain, that no man can join in prayers, in which there is any petition, which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick any where, much less in religion." This is undoubtedly the letter referred to in the Life of Mr. Kettlewell,‡ whose opinion was exactly the same.

After the Archbishop had been near a year in his see, he found himself confirmed in the notions which he had before entertained, that the circumstances attending a great post make grandeur not near so eligible, with regard to the possessor's own ease and happiness, as persons at a distance from it are apt to imagine. To this purpose he entered his own reflections in short-hand in his common-

* The taking of Athlone, by General Ginkle, June 30th, and his victory over St. Ruth and the Irish, July 12th.

† Afterwards Earl of Orford.

‡ P. 351, and 357.

place book, under the title of—" Some scattered thoughts of my own upon several subjects and occasions, begun this day, March 13, 169½, to be transcribed." His remarks concerning a public and splendid way of living, compared with a private and retired life, deserve to be inserted here at length, as they were the result of the real experience of a very able observer of human life in all its situations.

" One would be apt to wonder, that Nehemiah (chap. v. ver. 16, 17, 18.) should reckon a huge bill of fare, and a vast number of promiscuous guests amongst his virtues and good deeds, for which he desires God to remember him. But, upon better consideration, besides the bounty, and sometimes charity, of a great table (provided there be nothing of vanity or ostentation in it), there may be exercised two very considerable virtues; one is temperance, and the other self-denial, in a man's being contented, for the sake of the public, to deny himself so much, as to sit down every day to a feast, and to eat continually in a crowd, and almost never to be alone, especially when, as it often happens, a great part of the company, that a man must have, is the company that a man would not have. I doubt it will prove but a melancholy business, when a man comes to die, to have made a great noise and bustle in the world, and to have been known far and near, but all this while to have been hid and concealed from himself. It is a very odd and fantastical sort of life for a man to be continually from home, and most of all a stranger at his own house.

" It is surely an uneasy thing to sit always in a frame, and to be perpetually upon a man's guard; not to be able to speak a careless word, or to use a negligent posture, without observation and censure.

" Men are apt to think, that they, who are in highest places, and have the most power, have most liberty to say and do what they please. But it is quite otherwise; for they have the least liberty, because they are most observed. It is not mine own observation; a much wiser man (I mean Tully) says, '*In maximâ quâque fortunâ minimum licere.*' They, that are in the highest and greatest condition, have of all others the least liberty.

" In a moderate station it is sufficient for a man to be indifferently wise. Such a man has the privilege to commit little follies and mistakes without having any great notice taken of them. But he that lives in the light, *i. e.* in the view of all men, his actions are exposed to every body's observation and censure.

" We ought to be glad, when those, that are fit for government, and called to it, are willing to take the burden of it upon them; yea, and to be very thankful to them too, that they will be at the pains, and can have the patience, to govern, and to live publicly. Therefore it is happy for the world, that there are some, who are born and bred up to it; and that custom hath made it easy, or at least tolerable to them. Else who, that is wise, would undertake it, since it is certainly much easier of the two to obey a just and wise government (I had almost said any government) than to govern justly and wisely. Not that I find fault with those, who apply themselves to public business and affairs. They do well, and we are beholden to them. Some by their education, and being bred up to great things, and to be able to bear and manage great business with more ease than others, are peculiarly fitted to serve God and the public in this way: and they, that do, are worthy of double honour.

" The advantage, which men have by a more devout, and retired, and contemplative life, is, that they are not distracted about many things; their minds and affections are set upon one thing; and the whole stream and force of their affections run one way. All their thoughts and endeavours are united in one great end and design, which makes their life all of a piece, and to be consistent with itself throughout.

" Nothing but necessity, or the hope of doing more good than a man is capable of doing in a private station (which a modest man will not easily presume concerning himself) can recompense the trouble and uneasiness of a more public and busy life.

" Besides that many men, if they understand themselves right, are at the best in a lower and more private condition, and make a much more awkard figure in a higher and more public station; when, perhaps, if they had not been advanced, every one would have thought them fit and worthy to have been so.

" And thus I have considered and compared impartially both these conditions; and, upon the whole matter, without any thing either of disparagement or discouragement to the wise and great. And, in my poor judgment, the more retired and private condition is the better and safer, the more easy and innocent, and consequently the more desirable of the two.*

" Those, who are fitted and contented to serve mankind in the

* A man would be glad to steal some more parts of his life to himself and his own use, before he leave the world.

management and government of public affairs, are called benefactors, and if they govern (well) deserve to be called so, and to be so accounted, for denying themselves in their own ease, to do good to many.

"Not that it is perfection to go out of the world, and to be perfectly useless. Our Lord, by his own example, has taught us, that we can never serve God better than when doing good to men; and that a perpetual retirement from the world, and shunning the conversation of men, is not the most religious life; but living amongst men, and doing good to them. The life of our Saviour is a pattern both of the contemplative and active life, and shews us, how to mix devotion and doing good to the greatest advantage. He would neither go out of the world, nor yet immerse himself in the cares and troubles, in the pleasures and plentiful enjoyments, much less in the pomp and splendour of it. He did not place religion (as too many have done since) in a total retirement from the world, and shunning the conversation of men, and taking care to be out of all condition and capacity of doing good to any body. He did not run away from the conversation of men, nor live in a wilderness, nor shut himself up in a pen. He lived in the world with great freedom, and with great innocency, hereby teaching us, that charity to men is a duty no less necessary than devotion towards God. He ———— the world without leaving it. We read indeed, that he was carried into the wilderness to be tempted: but we no where read, that he chose to live in a wilderness to avoid temptation.

"The capacity and opportunity of doing greater good is the specious pretence, under which ambition is wont to cover the eager desire of power and greatness.

"If it be said (which is the most spiteful thing that can be said), that some ambition is necessary to vindicate a man from being a fool; to this I think it may be fairly answered, and without offence, that there may perhaps be as much ambition in declining greatness, as in courting it: only it is of a more unusual kind, and the example of it less dangerous, because it is not like to be contagious."

When his Grace was settled in the archiepiscopal see, he began to form several designs for the advantage of the church and religion in general. In these he was encouraged by the readiness of their Majesties to promote them by their authority,* and especially

* Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 25, 26.

of the Queen, who was incessantly employed in possessing her mind with the best schemes, that were either laid before her by others, or suggested by her own thoughts, for correcting every thing, which was amiss, and improving every thing, that wanted finishing.* With this view, the Archbishop joined with her Majesty in engaging Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, to draw up his excellent Discourse of the Pastoral Care, which was that prelate's favourite tract,† as an attempt to prepare the scene for many noble designs for the perfecting of our ecclesiastical constitution.‡ This Discourse was finished before the end of March, 1692; and the Bishop seems to have had some intention of dedicating it to his friend, the Archbishop; who, on the other hand, was zealous for its being published under the Queen's patronage; for which purpose he wrote the following letter to that prelate.§

"MY LORD, "*Lambeth House, March* 29, 1692.

"As backward as I am in writing letters, I received one yesterday so very kind, that I could not forbear to acknowledge it with the first opportunity. I do heartily congratulate with your Lordship the birth of your two daughters, and especially the safety of the good mother, after so long and heavy a burthen, and so sore a brunt. I pray God to multiply his blessings upon you more and more.

"I find your Lordship hath been in travail too; and I doubt not but have brought forth a man-child. I shall be glad to see him. I wonder you can have any dispute where to dedicate it: not that I should not be proud of it. But nobody must come in competition with the good Queen, who so well deserves all the respect, that can be paid her by all mankind; besides that, I have the curiosity to see the skill of your pen in so tender a point, as it will be to do her Majesty right without grating upon her modesty.

"I am glad of the happy success of your pains in catechising the youth, which could not but be universally acceptable; for even bad parents wish their children good.

"And now I think it high time to give your Lordship my most hearty thanks for your kindness to the son of my old friend, Mr.

* Id. Preface to the 3d Edit. of his Pastoral Care, p. xxxviii. 4th Edit. London, 1736.

† Conclusion of the History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 637.

‡ Preface to Pastoral Care, *ubi supra*, and Ch. IX. p. 223, 224.

§ Communicated by the Honourable Mr. Justice Burnet.

Dereham, and am glad the young man hath approved himself to you. Your Lordship's kind thoughts towards the father are yet much greater: but many things must happen to bring that about; and if what is designed succeed, there will be less need, and therefore I would have no hopes given him of it.

"My wife sends her humble duty to your Lordship, and joins her service with mine to Mrs. Burnet, and does equally congratulate with me her safety and happiness. God keep you, and continue you long for the service of his church. I am most assuredly,

"Your Lordship's most affectionate brother and friend,

"Jo. CANT."

The Bishop of Salisbury immediately sent the manuscript of his Discourse to his Grace, who returned him this answer:*

"MY LORD, "*Lambeth House*, *April* 12th, 1692.

"SINCE you are pleased to be so positive, I will take upon me too; and will write how and by whom I please, and am resolved to try, whether you can find in your heart to give over writing to me. And why, I pray, was not Mr. Fairfax mentioned among my scribes?

"I have read over your book with great care, and except that I have here and there put in some few words, which I saw by the sense were omitted, I saw no reason to make any alteration in the whole, saving the putting in of one word, and the changing of another; so moderately have I used that unlimited power you entrusted me with. The work is as perfect in its kind, as I hope to see any thing. I cannot but take notice of a remarkable prudence in the cast of the whole, that you do not grate too hard and too near upon the present state of things amongst us, but leave what you say in general to be applied to ourselves, if we please; which is so far from abating the force of it, that it will, I believe, render it more effectual. It will, I hope, do much good at present, and much more when you and I are dead and gone. I pray God to reward you for it.

"On Friday last I left it with the Queen, to whom I read the conclusion, which she will by no means allow; nor any thing more than a bare dedication. She says, she knows you can use no mo-

* Communicated by the Honourable Mr. Justice Burnet.

deration in speaking of her. So resolute and unaffected a modesty I never saw.

"Her Majesty hath for several days had a very bad cold. It would do any one good to see with what a grace and cheerfulness she plays off so great an illness. But I hope the worst is over, and that God hath designed her for a long blessing to us.

"As for the 'office of the fast,' you will not censure that matter, when I have told you, that I took care to have it printed five weeks before; but it could not be sent abroad till the first fast-day was settled. This her Majesty had appointed on the 13th of April. But when the proclamation was brought to the council, it was objected, that the 13th was the first day of the term, then the 20th was proposed; but that was thought not so convenient, because some action abroad might happen sooner. Then it was brought back to the 8th. I told the Queen, there would not be time enough to disperse the office. She said, let it go as far as it can for the first fast; it will come time enough for the months following.

"Yesterday morning I obtained a meeting here of eight bishops, York, London, Worcester, Ely, Gloucester, Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln. I proposed to them the heads of a circular letter; upon which we discoursed very calmly, and without the least clashing; and in conclusion they were all unanimously agreed to, and two or three heads more suggested, which were likewise consented to, none more cheerfully concurring in every thing than my Lord Bishop of London. We dined together with great kindness. This your Lordship will easily believe was no small contentment to me. But I must not be so vain, as not to consider, that I owe all this to the countenance and influence of her Majesty. Your Lordship may expect a more particular account of this affair when it comes to more ripeness. In the mean time, and ever, I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most affectionate brother and servant,

"JO. CANT."

The Pastoral Care being now ready for the press, received the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop himself on the 5th of May, 1692, and was published the same year.

His Grace's acceptance of the see of Canterbury, and his attachment to the cause of the Revolution, excluded him, among others, from the offer of pardon in King James II.'s declaration. This was sent over to England about April, 1692, previous to his intended invasion of this kingdom with a considerable army of Eng-

lish, Scots, Irish, and French; and it is said to have been drawn up by Sir James Montgomery, the supposed author of a very severe pamphlet against the government, intitled, Britain's just Complaints, whose zeal for the Revolution, by the disappointment of his ambition, in not being gratified with the post of secretary of state for Scotland, was soon changed into the greatest activity for the restoration of the abdicated King, till his firmness to the protestant religion exposed him to such ill treatment at the court of St. Germains, that he was obliged to abandon it, and retire to Paris, where he died in extreme melancholy and distress. But the threats of that King were rendered ineffectual, and his design entirely defeated by the victory of Admiral Russel over the French fleet, on the 19th of May, 1692, and the destruction of it at La Hogue. But there not being the same prospect of success in Flanders, where Lewis XIV. in person, opened the trenches before Namur, on the 15th of May; which city he took on the 26th of May, as he did the castle on the 21st of June, the ill situation of affairs made a deep impression on his Grace, who improved every apprehension of public distress into the most serious resolutions for the regulation of his own conduct. Accordingly I find in short-hand, in his common-place book, the following *memoranda:*

" June 7th, 1692. That last night, at twelve, being in great perplexity for the King (now in great danger, if there be an engagement), I lay waking from that time till five in the morning, and did solemnly make these following resolutions, which I earnestly beg of Almighty God the grace and power to make good, and did likewise resolve to read them over every morning.

" 1. Not to be angry with any body upon any occasion, because all anger is foolish, and a short fit of madness; betrays us to great indecencies: and whereas it is intended to hurt others, the edge of it turns upon ourselves. We always repent of it, and are at least more angry at ourselves than by being angry at others.

" 2. Not to be peevish and discontented. This argues littleness and infirmity of mind.

" 3. Not to trouble the Queen any more with my troubles.

" 4. Whenever I see any error or infirmity in myself, instead of intending to mend it, to resolve upon it presently and effectually.

" 5. Not to disturb the Queen on the Lord's day; or, if I speak with her, to speak only on matters of religion.

" 6. To use all gentleness towards all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.

"7. Never to mention any thing said by me to the King or Queen, or by them to me; but to thank God every day for the great blessing of the King and Queen, and for their admirable example.

"8. To read this every morning before I go to prayer."

The same month his Grace was consulted by his friend, the Archbishop of York, how to proceed with a dissenter in his diocese, who, claiming the privilege of the act of Toleration, had set up an academy, and was complained of to him by the clergy of Craven in a formal petition, that this academy might be suppressed.* The person was Mr. Richard Frankland, born in 1630, at Rathmill, in the parish of Gigleswick, in Craven, in Yorkshire, and educated at Christ's College, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts, and was afterwards a preacher at Haughton-le-spring, Lancaster, and Bishops-Aukland, in Durham;† and when the Protector Cromwell had erected at Durham a college for academical learning, on the 15th of May, 1657,‡ Mr. Frankland was fixed upon as a fit man to be a tutor there. But that college being demolished at the Restoration, and the act of Uniformity, with which he refused to comply, though solicited with a promise of considerable preferment by Bishop Cosins, of Durham, excluding him from his living, he retired to Rathmill, which was his own estate, where he set up a private academy, and had in the course of a few years three hundred pupils. Thence, in 1674, he removed to Natland, near Kendal, in Westmoreland; and thence, on account of the Five Mile Act, to Dawsonfold, and other places, and at last returned to Kendal, where he died on the 1st of October, 1698, having met with much opposition in the latter part of his life, being cited into the bishop's court, and excommunicated for non-appearance, but absolved by order of King William, at the intercession of the Lord Wharton, Sir Thomas Rookby, and others. He was afterwards sent for by Archbishop Sharp, who treated him with great civility; notwithstanding which, a fresh citation was sent from the ecclesiastical court, but the proceedings upon it were stopped by a prohibition.§ The Archbishop of Canterbury's answer to his brother of York was as follows:‖

* Letter of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Sharp, of Nov. 7, 1751.

† Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 284, 285.

‡ Peck's Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, Collect. Numb. xx. p. 61, *et seq.*

§ Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 284—288.

‖ Communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland.

" MY LORD, " *Lambeth House, June* 14, 1692.

" YESTERDAY I received your Grace's letter concerning Mr. Frankland, with the copy of an address to your Grace against him. Yourself are best judge what is fit to be done in the case, because you have the advantage of inquiring into all the circumstances of it. If my advice can signify any thing, it can only be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, as the case appears to me at this distance. I would send for him, and tell him, that I would never do any thing to infringe the act of Toleration; but I did not think his case came within it: that there were two things in his case, which would hinder me from granting him a licence, though he were in all things conformable to the church of England. First, his setting up a school, where a free-school is already established; and then his instructing of young men in so public a manner in university learning, which is contrary to his oath to do, if he have taken a degree in either of our universities, and I doubt contrary to the bishop's oath to grant a licence for the doing of it; so that your Grace does not in this matter consider him at all as a dissenter. This I only offer to your Grace as what seems to me the fairest and softest way of ridding your hands of this business.

" With my humble service to Mrs. Sharp, and my hearty prayers for your health and a long life to do God and his church much service, I remain, my Lord,

" Your Grace's very affectionate brother and servant,

" JO. CANT."

The next month his Grace was named by the Queen herself to stand godfather, with her Majesty and the Earl of Bath, to the new-born son of Charles Marquis of Winchester, afterwards Duke of Bolton, by his Lady, Frances, daughter of William Ramsden, of Byrom, in the county of York, Esq. This honour done the Archbishop by her Majesty was so sensibly felt by him, that he could not suppress the mention of it, though in a style of the greatest modesty and delicacy, to Lady Russel, in a letter, which he wrote to her upon a business of her own.*

" HONOURED MADAM, " *Aug.* 1, 1692.

" ON Sunday morning I gave your's to the Queen, telling her, that I was afraid it came too late. She said, ' perhaps not.' Yesterday meeting the Queen at a christening, she gave me the inclosed

* From a copy in the possession of a late Bishop of London.

to send to your Ladyship. And if I could but obtain of your severe judgment to wink a little at my vanity, I would tell you how this happened. My Lady Marchioness of Winchester being lately delivered of a son, spake to the Queen to stand godmother; and the Queen asking whom she had thought of for godfathers, she said, only the Earl of Bath, and whom else her Majesty would please to name. They agreed upon me, which was a great surprise to me; but I doubt not a gracious contrivance of her Majesty to let the world know, that I have her countenance and support. If it please God to preserve my good master, and to grant him success, I have nothing more to wish in this world, but that God would grant children to this excellent Prince; and that I, who am said not to have been baptized myself, may have the honour to baptize a Prince of Wales. With God, to whose wisdom and goodness we must submit every thing, this is not impossible. To his protection and blessing I commend your Ladyship and your hopeful children.

" Reading over what I have written puts me in mind of one, who, when he was in his drink, always went and shewed himself to his best friends. But your Ladyship knows how to forgive a little folly to one so entirely devoted to your service, as is, honoured Madam,

" Your most obliged and humble servant,

" Jo. Cant."

In the latter end of this year, 1692, the History of the Inquisition, written in Latin by Philip Limborch, professor of divinity among the Arminians, at Amsterdam, was published there in folio, with a dedication to the Archbishop. This work was undertaken by the author upon meeting with the original manuscript of the Sentences pronounced by the Inquisition of Thoulouse, in France, from the year 1307 to 1323; and it is an excellent performance, and contains an account of the rise, progress, and proceedings of that formidable court, supported by indisputable authorities. When he had finished it, he wrote in June, 1692, to Mr. Locke, who was a common friend to the Archbishop and himself, to request his Grace's leave for giving it to the world under the sanction of his patronage. Mr. Locke wrote to Mr. Limborch on the 30th of that month,* that he had that day waited upon the Archbishop, who immediately recollected Mr. Limborch's name, and that he had received from him a present of that divine's book, intitled, De veri-

* Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends, p. 339. Edit. London, 1708, in 8vo.

tate religionis Christianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo, printed in 1687, excusing himself for not having returned him a letter of thanks for it, because his ill health, the weakness of his eyes, and other intervening engagements of business, had hitherto prevented him from reading the whole: but he highly commended the work and its author. He thought that the History of the Inquisition would be very seasonable at that time, and read over the contents of the chapters with great pleasure and approbation; and, when Mr. Locke mentioned to him the affair of the dedication, he answered with so much civility of words and countenance, as shewed that it was not displeasing to him. Mr. Locke therefore advised Mr. Limborch to send it over, concurring with him in opinion, that the Archbishop should read it before it was sent to press; and promising to shew it to his Grace, and to mark any thing in it that ought to be altered. His Grace observed, that he had a book printed in Portugal, in 8vo. concerning an *auto de fe* there, to which were prefixed several papal bulls and other instruments, granting and establishing the authority of the holy office; which book he had not yet found, though he had looked for it, his library not being yet in order, but directed it to be searched out against Mr. Locke's next visit, to be sent to Mr. Limborch. Mr. Locke, in his next letter of the 28th of November, 1692,* informs Mr. Limborch of his having come immediately to London upon the arrival of the printed copies of his book, and waited upon the Archbishop, who declared his obligations to Mr. Limborch for it, and his great satisfaction in reading it, as he had already done the greatest part of it, notwithstanding his avocations of most important business; and that he designed to write to Mr. Limborch a letter of thanks upon that occasion. Mr. Locke, in another letter of the 10th of January, 169$\frac{2}{3}$,† acquaints Mr. Limborch, that upon his coming to town three days before, the Archbishop sent for him, and having premised many things in commendation of Professor Limborch and his History, said, that he had now at last wrote to him, having been hitherto prevented by a multitude of business; desiring Mr. Locke to direct and transmit his letter, together with a volume of his sermons lately published.

Mr. Limborch's dedication to his Grace is formed upon topics, that do the highest honour to a protestant prelate, and are applied to him with great force and propriety. He begins it with remark-

* Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends, p. 341. Edit. London, 1708, in 8vo

† Page 345.

ing, that upon a thorough consideration of the subject of the book itself, and of the eminent rank held by the Archbishop with the unanimous applause of all good men, and to the common advantage of all the reformed churches, in a crisis of the utmost difficulty, the inscription of such a work was due to his Grace above all men living. That, on the one hand, all persons who wished the maintenance of the gospel purity and liberty, had the highest veneration for his Grace, who was placed at the head of the church of England, the most eminent among the reformed, and who was on that account in some measure the defender of the reformed churches in general; his endeavours being faithfully employed in the promoting the Christian doctrine and faith, by means directly opposite to those of the papal tyranny, and in engaging men in the way of salvation. For not to insist upon his eloquence in the pulpit, of which he was so great a master, genuine, free from the disguise of false ornaments, and agreeable to the Divine oracles, his strength and acuteness of judgment in controversy, his learning adapted to use, and not to ostentation, and his other excellent qualifications, which had long before fixed the attention and hopes of all good men upon him, and now adorned the high office which he filled; his Grace's mildness of temper, so peculiarly becoming a pastor of the church, and so much wanted in that age, promised the greatest advantage to the Reformation, which still laboured under difficulties, and had been lately almost oppressed. For so distinguished was his Grace for integrity of life, simplicity of manners, candour, universal charity and benevolence, and prudence founded on experience, that Divine Providence seemed to have chosen him, in order that, under his influence and conduct, the whole body of the reformed churches, laying aside their intestine disputes, might unite and support the liberty of the gospel and the Christian religion against the machinations and shocking cruelty of the church of Rome. That his Grace, who was an example to all men of a true evangelical charity, opposed the tyranny of the see of Rome, by the same arts, sanctity of life and benignity of heart, with which Christianity anciently subdued and destroyed pagan idolatry, impiety, and tyranny, and by which it will always triumph over its enemies. These were the reasons which prevented Mr. Limborch from offering his work to any other patron than his Grace, who, he was persuaded, would concur with him in opinion, that the publication of it would be extremely seasonable in the present situation of things, when popery, especially in England, was endeavouring to advance itself,

and gain the sole dominion; since the readers of that book would see in it, as in a glass, the lively and genuine representation of it, and by that means not suffer themselves to be deluded with a fallacious one; and consequently view it in its proper light, of a confederacy of cruel and sanguinary men, affecting, and where they can, usurping, an authority over the consciences of others, and erecting a kingdom in direct opposition to that of Christ. He hoped, therefore, that all protestants would, under the auspices of his Grace, as their common spiritual father, be inspired with a just horror of the papal dominion, and obviate its progress by the sincerity of their faith, a charity truly Christian, and a thorough purity of manners: and that, for the sake of preserving the Reformation, they would learn to detest all cruelty against, and punishments of those, who dissented or were in error, if they were otherwise persons of piety; since it is certain, that all mankind will give an account of their faith before the tribunal of Christ, their supreme legislator and judge; and that no man has a right to make laws for conscience, and prescribe rules of belief, which would be in reality assuming the seat of Christ. Upon these principles the church would at last flourish under his Grace; and enmity, hatred, and schisms, by which it had been hitherto miserably divided, be entirely abolished. And if God, in punishment for our sins, should not yet restore the golden age of the primitive church, when all the believers had one heart and one mind, men would at least learn not to domineer over the consciences of their brethren, nor to punish any person for a simple and innocent error of judgment, much less to inflict death upon him for the ingenuous profession of his faith, of which he is ready to give an account to God; but to expose errors by reason, and the clear testimony of Scripture, and in the mean time to wait with meekness and patience for the repentance of the erring person, till God shall enable him to see and embrace the truth. Mr. Limborch concludes his dedication with his wishes, that Providence would bless his Grace's pious labours for the peace and benefit of the church, and grant that he might restore and support it by the same means, to which it owed its first rise, progress, and establishment.

His Grace had likewise a great regard for another very learned man among the Arminians, in Holland, to whom the English nation is greatly obliged for the reputation, which our best writers of the last and present century have acquired in foreign countries. This was Mons. Le Clerc, whose translation of, and paraphrase and com-

mentary upon, Genesis, published in 1693, gave such satisfaction to the Archbishop, that after he had read part of it, he testified his approbation of it by a letter to the author, and afterwards sent him a present of Bishop Kidder's Commentary on the Five Books of Moses, published in 1694.* But that prelate having, in his Dissertation concerning the author of the Pentateuch, passed a judgment upon Mons. Le Clerc's work, which the latter was persuaded the Archbishop disapproved, he wrote to the Bishop on the 5th of November, 1694, to complain of his Lordship's charging him with ill arts, and having said things which could only have been expected from a disciple of Hobbes, or a deist. Bishop Kidder returned an answer from Wells, on the 9th of that month, promising to do justice to his character, which promise he repeated soon after to a friend of Mons. Le Clerc; who, upon his Lordship's dying without publicly retracting the censure abovementioned, printed the letters which had passed between them on that subject.†

The success at sea, in the summer of the year 1692, and the preservation of his Majesty's person, both from an intended assassination by the Sieur de Grandval, to which, according to his own confession, King James and his Queen, as well as the French court, were privy, and in the unfortunate battle of Steinkirk, on the 24th of July, against Marshal Luxemburgh, occasioning a public thanksgiving on the 27th of October, the Archbishop was appointed to preach before their Majesties, after the Bishop of Salisbury had excused himself. For the Queen having sent that Bishop a text, Exod. iv. 13, he prepared a sermon upon it; but then humbly represented to her Majesty, that he having preached the two thanksgiving sermons in the two preceding years, it would look as if none else was willing to perform that office, if it should be still laid upon him. The Queen saw the force of this remark, and ordered the Archbishop to preach on that occasion; but the Bishop's sermon, though not preached, was afterwards published by him with others in 1713. That of his Grace was on Jerem. ix. 23, 24, in which he describes the Revolution, as the cause of true religion against a false and idolatrous worship, and of the liberties of mankind against tyranny and oppression; expressing no favourable opinion of the sincerity of some of the enemies to it. "As bad an argument," says he, "as success is of a good cause, I am sorry to say it, but I am afraid it is true, it is like in the conclusion to prove the best argument of all others to convince those, who have so long pre-

* Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. iv. art. x. p. 364. † Ibid. p. 370. *et seq.*

tended conscience against submission to the present government. Mere success," adds he, " is certainly one of the worst arguments in the world of a good cause, and the most improper to satisfy conscience. And yet we find by experience, that in the issue it is the most successful of all other arguments, and does in a very odd but effectual way satisfy the consciences of a great many men by shewing them their interest." This passage highly enraged Dr. Hickes,* as well as the compliments to King William, in which there is one instance of false eloquence unusual in his Grace's writings. It is that, where taking notice of Lewis XIV.'s unprincely manner of insulting over King William, when he believed him to have been slain at the Boyne, he adds, that " no mortal man ever had his shoulder so *kindly kissed* by a cannon bullet:" an expression, which gave Dr. South, no friend to him or his memory, the advantage of animadverting upon it as a *peculiar strain of rhetoric.*†

The King having escaped the most imminent danger in the battle of Landen, in July, 1693, against Marshal Luxemburgh, in which the Earl of Portland was wounded, the Archbishop took the first opportunity of writing to his Lordship the following letter :‡

" MY LORD, " *August* 1, 1693.

" I CANNOT forbear on this great occasion to congratulate the King's safety and merciful preservation from the many deaths, to which his royal person was so eminently exposed in the late bloody engagement. I thank God from my heart, who protected him in that day of danger, and likewise preserved your Lordship's life, which had been so lately restored. I hope the wound your Lordship received is not dangerous, and that it may be healed without losing the use of your hand. We have got but a very imperfect account of the issue of the whole action, and what has happened since, having received no letters of a later date than the morning after the fight, by reason of contrary winds.

" I did not intend to have troubled your Lordship about so small a matter, as I am going to mention. I have heard it from so many hands, that I think myself obliged to rectify the mistake, because though the thing which is said be true, I doubt the occasion of it has been misrepresented to his Majesty. The thing was thus :—the

* Some Discourses, p. 56. 58. † Dr. South's Sermons, vol. iii. p. 570. Edit. 1698.
‡ From his draught in short-hand.

Master of Stairs shewed me a draught of the Scots' bill of Comprehension, telling me by this act the episcopal ministers were required to own the presbyterian government as the *only* government. I asked him, if no other words were added to qualify that clause; viz. "as the only government of this church," or "established by law?" He said no. Then I asked, if the bill was *so* passed. He said it was *so* passed the committee of the House. I told him, I did not believe, when it was brought into the House, it would pass there; but I was sure the King would never consent to have that clause, without some other words to explain it, as the *only* government of this church, or the like; and then the bill would not be a bill of comprehension, but of exclusion. This was what passed between the Master of Stairs and myself; and, if he has represented this matter any otherwise to his Majesty, he has used me very ill. I intreat your Lordship to set his Majesty right in this matter.

"I pray God still to preserve his sacred person, and make him victorious. I shall be glad to hear of your Lordship's perfect recovery, who am with the truest esteem and respect,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

"J. C."

This letter, as well as his Grace's known moderation and tenderness in matters of conscience, will be a sufficient vindication of him from a memorandum pretended to be found in the study of the Rev. Mr. Creech, the translator and editor of Lucretius, at the auction of his books in Oxford.* The substance of it was, that "whatever steps were taken, and all that was done for the abolishing episcopacy, and subversion of the church of Scotland, was done by the contrivance, advice, and approbation of Dr. Tillotson;" the writer of this memorandum adding, "This I had from Johnson, who was certain of it, and knew the whole matter, when I was down in the north." But for a fuller vindication of his Grace from this charge, it will be necessary to trace back the real causes of the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, which were entirely foreign to any influence or interposition of the Archbishop, if he had been inclined to it; whereas, on the contrary, he appears to have endeavoured the mitigation of all severe impositions, upon the episcopal clergy in that kingdom. And in fact the true rea-

* Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 3, and 53.

son of the destruction of episcopacy there after the Revolution is to be imputed to the conduct of the bishops themselves, both previous and subsequent to it. They had rendered themselves universally obnoxious as the immediate creatures of the court of King James, and had written to him a letter of abhorrence of the intended expedition of the Prince of Orange, dated at Edinburgh, November 3, 1688, and filled with the strongest assurances of promoting in all his Majesty's subjects "an intrepid and stedfast allegiance" to him, "as an essential part of their religion, and of the glory," add they, "of our holy profession." The episcopal party indeed sent up Dr. Scot, dean of Glasgow, in February, $168\frac{8}{9}$ to the Prince of Orange, who assured them of all possible favour, if they should concur with the new settlement of Scotland. But, being possessed by the earl of Dundee with the opinion of a restoration of King James, they adhered so strongly to his interest, that it was not possible for King William to preserve episcopacy; all those, who declared themselves his friends, being equally zealous against that form of church government; which was accordingly abolished by an act of the Scots' parliament on the 22d of July, 1689.*

The state of that kingdom, in the beginning of the year $169\frac{1}{2}$, was represented to the King in a paper delivered to him by the Lord Viscount Tarbot, who had been much trusted and employed in Scotland by King Charles II. and his successor, as he was afterwards by Queen Anne, who made him Earl of Cromarty and secretary of state. This paper was transcribed by the Archbishop in short hand in his common-place book, with a remark of his own at the end of it, that it, "seemed to contain the most likely proposal for an agreement to be condescended to on both sides (the episcopalians and presbyterians) that had yet been offered."

A copy of the Lord Tarbot's paper given in by him to the King.

"January 1st, 1691.

"Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Murray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, and the greatest part of Dumblain, are provinces,† where the ministers are good men, and well-beloved of the people, and have owned their Majesties' government, are ready to own the con-

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 555. 572. 575. and Burnet, vol. ii. p. 23.

† Scotland divided into two parts, one north, &c. which contain together thirty-five provinces.

fession of faith; and many of them have already addressed upon the King's last letter: and it will most certainly dissatisfy all those provinces, if their ministers be not *assumed*. In all the rest of the provinces, in the south and west, most of the episcopal clergy are *already deposed. The few, that are left, are very well loved by the people. The presbyteries of Dunbar, and Haddington, in Lothian and Dunfermline in Fife, and presbyteries of Sterling, have excellent ministers, and loved by their people.—May it not please *all*, that the ministers of the northern provinces be *assumed*, and in the south only those few of the aforesaid four presbyteries (which in all will not amount to thirty ministers) and no more be assumed at this time?—That a commission be appointed to wait on the King's commissioner for reviewing all processes complained of; and to report to the next general assembly, whether the complaints be from ministers or parishes.—To prohibit all commissions of the general assembly, as dangerous, and not consistent with the forms of presbytery.—To hasten the close of the assembly, and to appoint a new one to a long day; with a clause, unless his Majesty sees fit to call it sooner, *pro re natâ*.—To recommend it to the commissioner and commission, the particular and notable cases complained of to their Majesties."

In the parliament of Scotland, held in 1693 by the Duke of Hamilton as the King's commissioner, the bill of Comprehension, mentioned in the Archbishop's letter to the Earl of Portland, was first framed in the manner shewn him by Sir John Dalrymple, then master, and afterwards Earl of Stairs, who had been made secretary of state for that kingdom in 1690, but was removed from that post in 1695 for his concern in the massacre at Glencoe. The Archbishop, being offended with the rigour of this test, endeavoured to soften it; and in his common-place book are these two draughts:

The test of the ministers, that are to be admitted as it was *first* proposed.

"I A. B. do sincerely declare and promise, that I will own and submit to the present presbyterian government of the church, as it is now by law established in this kingdom, under their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. And that I will heartily concur with, and under it, for the suppression of sin and wick-

* Since the year 1690 the episcopalists have lost all their places and preferments.

edness, the promoting of piety, and the purging of the church of all erroneous and scandalous ministers. And that I do also assent and consent to the confession of faith, and to the larger and shorter catechisms, now confirmed by act of parliament, as the standard of the protestant religion in this kingdom."

This test may be molified in this form, if it be thought fit.

"I A. B. do sincerely declare and promise, that I will submit to the presbyterian government of the church, as it is now by law established in this kingdom, under their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, by presbyteries, provincial synods, and a general assembly: and that I will, as becomes a minister of the gospel, heartily concur with the said government for the suppressing of sin and wickedness, the promoting of piety, and purging the church of erroneous and scandalous ministers. And I do further promise, that I will subscribe the confession of faith, and the larger and shorter catechisms, now confirmed by act of parliament, as containing the doctrine of the protestant religion professed in this kingdom."

But notwithstanding the unusual terms of moderation, to which presbyterians in Scotland were brought, with regard to the episcopal clergy, yet the latter refused both them and the oaths to the government.*

Bishop Wilkins's excellent treatise, intitled Ecclesiastes; or, a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the Rules of Art, which had already passed through six editions since the first, in 1646, wanting now the hand of a careful editor for a new one, the Archbishop requested his friend, Dr. John Williams, afterwards bishop of Chichester, to undertake that task; which he executed with great industry and skill. For, as he informed his Grace, in the dedication of the seventh edition, dated April 1st, 1693, upon engaging in it, he found, that besides the correction of the errors of the press, there might be a considerable improvement made of the work, since, after the course of so many years from its first publication, that part of learning had much increased; for which reason he thought, that he could not do right to his Grace, or the author, or the design, without advising with others of greater ability and judgment than himself; by whose help, and especially

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 121, 122.

that of Dr. Moor, bishop of Norwich, the original was much improved by a multitude of authors of celebrated note in their several ways.

The marriage of Lady Russel's second daughter, Catherine, to John Lord Ross, afterwards Duke of Rutland, on the 17th of August, 1693, gave occasion to the following letter* of congratulation from the Archbishop to her Ladyship.

"MADAM, "*Lambeth House, Aug.* 26, 1693.

"THOUGH nobody rejoices more than myself in the happiness of your Ladyship and your children, yet in the hurry, in which you must needs have been, I could not think it fit to give you the disturbance so much as of a letter, which otherwise had both in friendship and good manners been due upon this great occasion. But now that busy time is in a good measure over, I cannot forbear, after so many, as, I am sure, have been before me, to congratulate with your Ladyship this happy match of your daughter; for I so heartily pray it may prove, and have great reason to believe it will, because I cannot but look upon it as part of the comfort and reward of your patience and submission to the will of God, under the sorest and most heavy affliction, that could have befallen you; and when God sends and intends a blessing, it shall have no sorrow or evil with it,

"I intreat my Lord Ross and his Lady to accept of my humble service, and my hearty wishes of great and lasting happiness.

"My poor wife is at present very ill, which goes very near me: and, having said this, I know we shall have your prayers. I intreat you to give my very humble service to my Lord of Bedford, my Lord Russel, and to my Lord Cavendish and his Lady. I could upon several accounts be melancholy, but I will not upon so joyful an occasion. I pray God to preserve and bless your Ladyship and all the good family at Woburn, and to make us all concerned to prepare ourselves with the greatest care for a better life. I am with all true respect and esteem, Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most faithful and most humble servant,

"JO. CANT."

His Grace wrote likewise to her Ladyship another letter† in October following, in answer to one, which her friendship for him

* From a copy in the possession of a late Bishop of London. † Ibid.

and concern for his wife's indisposition had drawn from her, notwithstanding a disorder in her eyes, which had long troubled her, and threatened a total failure of sight, which befel her in the latter years of her life. This letter of his shews, that his own integrity had not prevented him from the disagreeable conviction of the great want of sincerity in what he calls "the upper part of the world."

"*Lambeth House, October* 13, 1693.

"I HAVE forborn, Madam, hitherto, even to acknowledge the receipt of your Ladyship's letter, and your kind concernment for mine and my wife's health, because I saw how unmerciful you were to your eyes in your last letter to me, so that I should certainly have repented the provocation I gave you to it by mine, had not so great and good an occasion made it necessary.

"I had intended this morning to have sent Mr. Vernon to Woburn to have inquired of your Ladyship's health, having but newly heard, that since your return from Belvoir, a dangerous fever had seized upon you. But yesterday morning at council I happily met with Mr. Russel, who to my great joy told me, that he hoped that danger was over; for which I thank God with all my heart, because I did not know how fatal the event might be after the care and hurry you had been in, and in so sickly a season.

"The King's return is now only hindered by contrary winds; I pray God to send him safe to us, and to direct him what to do when he is come. I was never so much at my wit's end concerning the public. God can only bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and I trust he will.

"My wife gives her most humble service and thanks to you for your concernment for her, and does rejoice equally with me for the good news of your recovery.

"Never since I knew the world had I so much reason to value my friends. In the condition I now am, I can have no new ones, or, if I could, I can have no assurance that they are so. I could not at a distance believe, that the upper end of the world was so hollow as I find it. I except a very few, of whom I can believe no ill till I plainly see it.

"I have ever earnestly coveted your letters; but now I do as earnestly beg of you to spare them for my sake, as well as your own.

"With my very humble service to my good Lord of Bedford,

and to all your's, and my hearty prayers to God for you all, I remain, Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most obliged and obedient servant,

"Jo. Cant."

The death of his predecessor, Archbishop Sancroft, on the 24th of November, 1693, was soon followed by a panegyric upon the deceased Prelate, intitled, A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London,* intermixed with many severe reflections upon Archbishop Tillotson, by way of pretended contrast to Sancroft. It is remarked there,† that while the former sat in the chair, there was no under-hand trucking with Socinians, or others out of the communion of the church of England; "that he was never at the bottom of any project to give up the Liturgy, the rights and ceremonies of the church; for, alas! quite contrary to modern policy, he thought, that the best way to preserve a society had been in keeping stedfastly to all the terms of it. . . . He had not that *latitude* of principle to sacrifice the church out of secular intrigues and politics, and to deliver up the mounds and fences of it to a party which had been endeavouring the destruction of it for a hundred years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had favour at court, and was able to recommend a person to the highest offices in the church, it was never his custom to lay aside, or postpone, the most worthy and able men, and firm to the constitution of the church, and to make use of his interest to advance a sort of men, who are equally principled for Geneva as for England, or for any constitution besides; who were never true nor honest to the church in their inferior charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to support her. In fine, when he was possessed of the revenues belonging to his church, he never made it his business to destroy and plunder it, by cutting down the timber upon little pretences, and then putting the money into his own pocket. Upon the whole, he was a *true father;* the interests of the church were his own; and he spent himself in preserving her honour, rites, and revenues: whereas it hath been long ago observed, that an *intruder* is always a *step-father*, who spins out the bowels of the church, and fattens himself with her blood; who having no *legal* right and foundation, is for compounding with religion, and bartering the securities of the church to support him-

* Printed at London in 1694, 4to. † P. 11.

self, and uphold the injustice of his own tenure. And this observation is so true, that it hath never yet failed in any one instance. He, that came into the church a *thief* and a *robber*, hath always continued so; and from the beginning of the church to this very day, there hath not been one ecclesiastical usurper; but who, in one or more instances, hath pawned something of religion to gain an accession to his party, and to secure and strengthen his unrighteous possession." The writer of this Letter afterwards affirms,* that the deceased Archbishop had left behind him very few, who in that degenerate age were likely to equal his virtues, or to come near them by many degrees; "and none less," says he, "than him who sits in his chair, and some others, who fill the sees of our deprived bishops." And he adds,† that Archbishop Sancroft being forced to leave Lambeth, "he did not leave his virtues behind him to be possessed by the next comer, (and if this needs to be proved, we have ocular demonstration) but they followed his person in all fortunes and places; and we had a most reverend Archbishop at Fresingfield, when there was none at Lambeth, nor nothing like it." Such was the language of the nonjuring party concerning the two archbishops, canonizing the one, while they scrupled no topic of invective against the other, though with so little ground of truth or shadow of probability, that it is absolutely unnecessary to make particular remarks upon their libels against him.

In the few moments of leisure, which his elevated station left him, he revised his sermons, and published in 1693 four of them "concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour:" the true reason of which, as the reader is informed in a short advertisement prefixed to them, was not that, which is commonly alleged for printing books, the importunity of friends, but the importunate clamours and calumnies of others, whom he heartily prayed God to forgive, and to give them better minds.

These sermons had been preached in 1679 and 1680 at his lecture at St. Lawrence Jewry, and the publication was designed not only to remove the imputation raised by the papists, and adopted by a party opposite to him, of his being a Socinian,‡ but likewise for the satisfaction of his friend, Mr. Thomas Firmin. This public-spirited and charitable man, who is mentioned by the Archbishop in his funeral sermon upon Mr. Gouge, as "a worthy and useful citizen," was a native of Ipswich, in Suffolk, where he

* P. 20. † P. 26. ‡ Burnet's Reflections, p. 105.

was born in 1632, and, having served an apprenticeship with a master, who was a hearer of Mr. John Goodwin, of Coleman Street, he first abandoned the principles of Calvin for those of Arminius, and afterwards adopted those of the Unitarians from his conversation with Mr. John Biddle,* who had been imprisoned in December, 1645, for publishing his thoughts upon the subject of the Trinity, and in danger of suffering death for them in 1648, through the zeal of the assembly of divines, and was confined several years in the island of Scilly.† Mr. Firmin's zeal for his instructor was so great, that he ventured, while he was only an apprentice, to deliver a petition for his release out of Newgate to Oliver Cromwell, who gave him this short answer: "You curl-pate boy you, do you think I'll shew any favour to a man, that denies his Saviour, and disturbs the government?"‡ Mr. Firmin soon became a considerable trader in London, by which he might have acquired a very large fortune, if he had not been constantly employed in all conceivable methods of serving the public, which gained him an universal esteem, and particularly with the most eminent of the clergy, though his peculiar notions were well known. And his charity was so unconfined and impartial, that he began to exert himself in collecting money for the deprived nonjurors, upon the foot of a scheme drawn up by Mr. Kettlewell, till he was deterred from proceeding in it by some of his great friends, who told him, that this scheme was illegal, being calculated for the support of the enemies of the government.§ He died on the 20th of December, 1697, in the 66th year of his age, being attended in his last illness by his intimate friend, Dr. Edward Fowler, who had been advanced to the see of Gloucester, in July, 1691.‖ His understanding and knowledge were very remarkable, but he was entirely ignorant of the learned languages, and the school logic and philosophy.¶ His hypothesis with respect to the Trinity was that of Arius, though he was commonly styled a Socinian; and he was an industrious propagator of the books, published in favour of his own opinions after the Revolution.**

The Archbishop having sent him one of the first copies of his Four Sermons from the press, Mr. Firmin, not being convinced by

* Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 5—10.
† Wood. Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 304.
‡ Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p.761.
§ Life of Mr. Kettlewell, p. 420, 421. ‖ Life, p. 82, 83.
¶ Ibid. p. 15. ** Burnet, vol. ii. p. 211, 212.

them, caused a respectful answer to be drawn up and published in 1694, in 4to. under the title of Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity; in which his Grace is styled "the common father of the nation," and acknowledged "to have instructed the Socinians themselves with the air and language of a father, not of an adversary or judge;" and that they were "concerned for their own reputation to reverence his person and admonitions, because it is agreed among all good men, or that but profess to be such, that he is respected and loved by all but those, that are also known to hate their country; and hath no other maligners, but the enemies of the nation itself. A copy of these Considerations was given by Mr. Firmin to his Grace, who having read them over, only said to him, "My Lord of Sarum shall humble your writers." But he never expressed afterwards the least coldness to that gentleman on account of that answer, to which he had before declared upon the publication of his Four Sermons, that he was obliged by the calumnies of people to publish them; and that what he now printed was what he thought at the time of preaching them, and continued to think; but that no false imputations should provoke him to give ill language to persons, who dissented conscientiously and for weighty reasons; which he knew well to be the case of the Socinians, for whose learning and dexterity he should always have a respect, as well as for their sincerity and exemplariness.* These Considerations did not long continue without a reply; for Dr. John Williams, afterwards bishop of Chichester, wrote the same year a Vindication of the Archbishop's Four Sermons, and of the bishop of Worcester's Sermon on the Mysteries of the Christian Faith. The *imprimatur* to it is dated November 17, 1694, the day before the Archbishop was seized with his last illness; but it was not published till 1695, in 4to. with a dedication to James Chadwick, Esq. his Grace's son in law; in which Dr. Williams observes, that it was not without the Archbishop's direction and encouragement, that he entered upon that work; and that had he lived to have perused the whole, as he did a part of it a few days before his last hours, "it had come with greater advantage into the world, as having passed the trial of that exact and impartial judgment, which he was wont to exercise in matters of this nature." To this piece is subjoined a letter to the author from Dr. Burnet,

* Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, late citizen of London. Written by one of his most intimate Acquaintance, p. 15—17. Edit. London, 1698.

bishop of Sarum, dated at Westminster, 2d of February, 169⅘, in which he speaks with great contempt and severity of the late pieces published in England in defence of the Unitarian principles.

But how little soever the Archbishop was thought by the Socinians themselves a friend to their notions, and though they published a confutation of his Four Sermons against them, yet these very Sermons were urged by his enemies to support the imputation of Socinianism, with which he had been loaded. For in 1695 there was published, in 4to. said to be printed at Edinburgh, a piece intitled, The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson considered in Examination of some Sermons he has lately published on purpose to clear himself from that Imputation. By way of Dialogue between F. a Friend of Dr. T's, and C. a catholic Christian. To which is added, some Reflections upon the second of Dr. Burnet's Four Discourses, concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ, printed in 1694. To which is likewise annexed, a Supplement upon occasion of a History of Religion lately published, supposed to be wrote by Sir R. H——d. Wherein likewise Charles Blount's great Diana is considered; and both compared with Dr. Tillotson's Sermons. By a true Son of the Church. The whole performance, which the writer declares in his preface to have been written before the Archbishop's death, is written in a style of invective and scurrility, as unsuitable to the discussion of a question of religion, as the character of the person against whom it is levelled. It asserts,* that his Grace's sermons "are all the genuine effects of Hobbism, which loosens the notions of religion, takes from it all that is spiritual, ridicules whatever is called supernatural; it reduces God to matter, and religion to nature. In this school Dr. T. has these many years held the first form, and now diffuses its poison from a high station. . . . . His politics are Leviathan, and his religion is latitudinarian, which is none; that is, nothing that is positive, but against every thing that is positive in other religions; whereby to reduce all religions to an uncertainty, and determinable only by the civil power. . . . He is owned by the atheistical wits of all England as their true primate and apostle. They glory and rejoice in him, and make their public boasts of him. He leads them not only the length of Socinianism (they are but slender beaux have got no farther than that) but to call in question all revelation, to turn Genesis, &c. into a mere romance; to ridicule the whole

* P. 13.

as Blount, Gildon, and others of the Doctor's disciples have done in print." The writer proceeds in this strain, asserting,* that a thread of plain and downright Hobbism runs through all the Archbishop's works, whose principles he styles diabolical, and that he had by them deeply poisoned the nation. Dr Hickes was privy to the writing of this piece, for he recommended† it, as what he hoped would see the light before the publication of his own Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson.

It was replied to in A Twofold Vindication of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Author of the History of Religion, in which Dr. Alexander Monro, an eminent nonjuring divine, formerly principal of the College of Edinburgh, and author of a very good volume of sermons, printed at London, in 1693, and of a Letter to a Gentleman upon occasion of some new Opinions in Religion, printed in 1696, in 4to. being considered as the writer of The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson, he published the same year 1696, A Letter to the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, denying his having had any concern in that piece, or having seen it till after it was printed; to which purpose he had published an advertisement in January that year; and he affirms,‡ that the real author of the Charge was never in Scotland, though in the title page it is pretended to have been printed at Edinburgh. And indeed it is now known to have been the production of that voluminous polemical writer, Mr. Charles Lesley, a man of some learning and wit, but accompanied with a vein of scurrility, that must render his writings in general disgustful to the present age and posterity, however applauded in his own time, and by his own party. He was son of Dr. John Lesley, bishop of Clogher, and in 1687 was made chancellor of the diocese of Connor, in Ireland, the year before the Revolution; and though a declared enemy to it afterwards, is said to have been the first, who began the war in Ireland against James II. affirming in a speech solemnly made, that he, by declaring himself a papist, could no longer be king, since he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church; dignities so inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of these could not hold it: and, as he animated the people with this speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which several men were killed.‖ He died in Ireland, in March, 172½.

* P. 16. † Some Discourses, p. 53, 54. ‡ P. 9.
‖ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 538.

The Archbishop's concern for inculcating the principles of stedfastness in religion, and the private and domestic duties of it, with the advantages of early piety, and a right education of children, engaged his Grace to publish in 1694 six sermons upon those subjects, which had been preached by him in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry. In the preface he expresses his hope, that he should for the remainder of his life be released from "that irksome and unpleasant work of controversy and wrangling about religion," and his resolution of turning his thoughts to something more agreeable to his temper, and of a more direct and immediate tendency to the promoting of true religion, to the happiness of human society, and the reformation of the world; being sensible how fast the infirmities of age were coming upon him. "I know very well," adds he, with his usual modesty, "before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were for the due discharge of it; but I did not feel this so sensibly, as I now do every day more and more. And therefore, that I might make some small amends for my great failings, I knew not how better to place the broken hours I had to spare from almost perpetual business of one kind or other, than in the preparing something for the public that might be of use to recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age, in which iniquity doth so much abound, and the love of God and religion is grown so cold."

The last sermon which his Grace preached before their Majesties, was on the 25th of February, $169\frac{3}{4}$, at Whitehall, on Titus iii. 2. Against Evil Speaking, which was not published till the year after his death, together with that On a heavenly Conversation.

The death of Dr. John Conant, rector of Exeter College, in Oxford, prebendary of Worcester, archdeacon of Norwich, and author of several volumes published by Bishop Williams, gave the Archbishop, in 1694, an opportunity of shewing his regard for that judicious divine, Mr. John Jeffery, soon after doctor of divinity, by presenting him to that archdeaconry, which was his Grace's option on Bishop More's promotion to that see, and had been given to Dr. Conant, in June, 1676, by Bishop Reynolds, whose daughter the Doctor had married. Mr. Jeffery was born at Ipswich, December 20, 1647, and educated at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, under Dr. John Echard, the celebrated author of The Grounds and Reasons of the Contempt of the Clergy, and the Dialogues between Philautus and Timothy, the pleasantry of which, levelled against Mr.

Hobbe's opinions, so much disconcerted the gravity of that severe philosopher. From the curacy of Dennington, in Suffolk, which he had served for some years, he was chosen, in 1678, minister of St. Peter's, of Mancroft, in Norwich. Here he contracted a friendship with Sir Edward Atkyns,* lord chief baron of the Exchequer, who then spent the long vacations in that city. By this gentleman he was carried to London, and introduced there to the acquaintance of several eminent men, and particularly the Archbishop, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn, who often engaged Mr. Jeffery to preach for him there, and was probably the means of making him known to Dr. Whichcot, three volumes of whose sermons were afterwards published by Mr. Jeffery. And it is not to be doubted, but that if his Grace had lived much longer, he would have raised the Archdeacon to a more conspicuous station in the church;† whose learning, piety, and thorough knowledge of the true principles of Christianity would have adorned the highest, and are a sufficient recommendation of his writings, collected and republished in a manner that does justice to his memory and the public.

In the beginning of the same year, 1694, Mr. John Strype, who had before distinguished himself as the editor of the second volume of Dr. John Lightfoot's Works, having now finished the impression of the Life of Archbishop Cranmer, in folio, addressed it to the Archbishop in a modest dedication, in which he takes notice, that his Grace's "deserts towards this church and the Reformation, had raised him to sit in Archbishop's Cranmer's chair, though with as much reluctancy," says he, "in you, as was in him." And in his preface, dated at Low-Layton, September 29, 1693, he mentions his obligations to his Grace, as well as to his predecessor, for the use of the manuscripts in the library at Lambeth. This honest and industrious writer was descended of a German family, but born at London, and educated at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, July 11, 1671. He was at first rector of Theydon-Boys,

* Sir Edward Atkyns had been long a most intimate friend of the Archbishop, as appears from a passage in the Life of Mr. Isaac Milles, rector of Highcleer, in Hampshire, published in 1721, in 8vo. by his son, Dr. Thomas Milles, bishop of Waterford, in Ireland, who mentions, p. 33, that Mr. Milles being introduced by Sir Edward to Mr. Tillotson, at Barley, in Hertfordshire, discerned in him, during the little conversation which he then had with him, such an openness and clearness, such a civility and obligingness of deportment, as he never found in any other man.

† Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Jeffery, prefixed to A complete Collection of his Sermons and Tracts, in two volumes, London, 1751, in 8vo.

in Essex, which he was presented to in July, 1669, and resigned in February following, for the vicarage of Low-Layton, in the same county. Besides which, he had a considerable sinecure given him by Archbishop Tennison, and was lecturer of Hackney, near London, where he died at the house of Mr. Harris, an apothecary, who married his grand-daughter, on the 13th of December, 1737, at an uncommon age, having enjoyed his vicarage near sixty-eight years. He kept an exact diary of his own life, which was shewn me not long before his death by Mr. Harris; and seemed to contain many curious circumstances relating to the literary history of his times, as he was engaged in a frequent correspondence, especially by letters, with Archbishop Wake, and the Bishops Burnet, Nicholson, and Atterbury, and other eminent persons. His fidelity and industry will always give a value to his numerous writings, however destitute of the graces and even uniformity of style, and the art of connecting facts.

The Archbishop's correspondence with Lady Russel had been interrupted on her part for many months, by the disorder in her eyes increasing to such a degree, that she was obliged, on the 27th of June, 1694, to submit to the operation of couching. Upon this occasion his Grace drew up a prayer two days after, in which* he touched upon the death of her husband, "whom thy holy and righteous providence," says he, "permitted, under a colour of law and justice, to be unjustly cut off from the land of the living:" but over these latter words, after the first writing, he drew a line, as intending to erase them, probably from a reflection, that they might be too strong, or less suitable to a prayer.

The day before the composing of this prayer, he wrote a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury upon the following occasion. Upon the nomination of the Bishop to that see, a few days after their Majesties' advancement to the throne, he met with some difficulties with respect to his consecration. For when his election was returned and confirmed, the precept for his consecration went in course to Archbishop Sancroft, who declared that he would not obey it. Some of the bishops tried to persuade him, but in vain. The Earl of Nottingham likewise tried, but succeeded no better. The party, who were enemies to the Revolution, had got it among them, that he had promised them not to do it. But as the time came on, and he saw that he must be sued in a *præmunire*, he of a sudden ordered two commissions to be drawn; both of which he signed and sealed, one

* Entered in short hand in his common-place book.

directed to the Archbishop of York, and all the bishops of England; the other to all the bishops of the province, to execute his metropolitical authority during pleasure. The latter was made use of, and in pursuance of it Dr. Burnet was consecrated on the 31st of May, 1689; so that this was as much Archbishop Sancroft's own act, as if he himself had consecrated the new bishop, and he authorized others to do what he seemed himself to think unlawful. His vicar-general produced this commission, and was present at the consecration, and all the fees were paid to his officers. But the nonjuring party complaining of this, in order to give them some satisfaction, the Archbishop sent by Mr. Henry Wharton a message (unless the latter went in his name without order) to Mr. Tillot, the register, to send him that commission; which being accordingly sent, it was withdrawn. This violation of a public register deprived the Bishop of Salisbury of an instrument of the utmost importance to him, since the canonicalness of his consecration, and his legal right to his bishopric, depended upon it. Thus it continued till many months after the deprived Archbishop's death, when notice was given the Bishop of it by one, who had occasion to know it; and upon inquiry his Lordship found it true, and accordingly took advice upon it; and what the Archbishop's was is evident from the following letter to the Bishop:*

" MY LORD, " *Lambeth House, June* 28, 1694.

" SUPPOSING your Lordship by this time to be returned from your visitation, this, I hope, will find you at Salisbury.

" I have heard no return from Suffolk concerning the commission that was withdrawn. Dr. Oxenden tells me, the proper method to discover the truth of this matter will be, by bill in Chancery, to bring Mr. William Sancroft, the late Archbishop's nephew, and Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Tillot, upon their oaths to discover their knowledge; and if the commission cannot be found, then to have the consecration sufficiently attested and registered. To ease the charge, I think it fit that your Lordship take in the Bishop of Exeter,† whose translation is equally concerned.

" I have read a great part of Will. Wotton's book, which I think to be very extraordinary both for the learning and judgment he hath shewn in it, and for the manly and decent style and manner

* Communicated by the Honourable Mr. Justice Burnet.

† Sir Jonathan Trelawny, who was translated from the bishopric of Bristol to that of Exeter, April 12th, 1689.

of writing, hardly to be paralleled by any thing that hath been produced in this age by one of his years. This, I believe, will not be unwelcome to your Lordship, who had so great a hand in forming this great young man.

"Mr. Geddes' book finds a general acceptance and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time.

"I pray God to give you health, and to preserve you long for the use and benefit of his church, and for the comfort of, my Lord,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"Jo. Cant.

"I leave all matters of news to a friend of your's, that hath better intelligence; only I cannot forbear to tell you, that my Lady Russel's eye was couched yesterday morning with very good success. God be praised for it."

His Grace's opinion in this letter for bringing into Chancery the affair of the commission, which had been withdrawn, was followed by the Bishop of Salisbury, who resolved upon having all persons concerned in it examined upon oath, and proving the tenor of the commission. His Lordship giving notice of his resolution to Mr. Tillot, the register, and telling him, that if he did not recover the commission between that time and Michaelmas term, he would sue him in Chancery, the consequence was, that the commission was brought back.*

Mr. Wotton's book, mentioned in the Archbishop's letter, was the first edition of his Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning, published in 1694, in 8vo. and dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, whose chaplain he was. He had been famous from his childhood for a knowledge of the languages, which few men ever attained to, being capable at five years of age of reading the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and being sent to Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, in the beginning of April, 1676, some months before he was ten years old, took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1679, at twelve. The winter following he was invited to London by Dr. Burnet, then preacher at the Rolls, with whom he continued for some time, and was introduced by him to most of the learned men there. Not long after this he was chosen fellow of St. John's College, in Cambridge, and in 1683 commenced master of arts, as he

* Bishop Burnet's Reflections upon a Pamphlet, intitled, Some Discourses, p. 22, 23, 24; and History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 8.

did bachelor of divinity in 1693. He was presented, in 1691, by Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, to the sinecure of Llandrillo, in Denbighshire, vacant by the death of Dr. Henry Maurice; and, in 1693, to the rectory of Middleton Keynes, in Buckinghamshire, by his patron, the Earl of Nottinghamshire. He was presented, likewise, in 1705, to a prebend of Salisbury, by the Bishop, to whom he had dedicated his History of Rome, published in 1701, and by whose direction it had been written, and intended for his Lordship's royal pupil, the Duke of Gloucester. In 1707, he was honoured with the degree of doctor of divinity, by Archbishop Tennison, a title which he had merited by the many learned writings published by him. He died at Buxted, in Sussex, on the 13th of February, 1726, at the age of sixty-one, at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. William Clarke, canon residentiary of Chichester.

Mr. Geddes' first volume of Miscellaneous Tracts, which, as his Grace observes, met with a "general acceptance and approbation," deserved it, as well as the subsequent volumes, on account of the many valuable pieces which they contain, and which his long residence abroad enabled him to give the public. He was born in Scotland, and educated in the university of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, 1671.* He went to Lisbon, in 1678, as chaplain to the English factory; the exercise of which function giving offence to the Inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbid to continue it. The merchants resenting this violation of their privilege, wrote immediately on the 7th of September, that year, to the Bishop of London, representing the case, and their own right to a chaplain; but before their letter reached his Lordship, he was suspended by the ecclesiastical commission. They were deprived therefore of all exercise of their religion till the arrival of Mr. Scarborough, the English envoy, under whose character as a public minister they were obliged to shelter themselves. Mr. Geddes, finding things in this situation, thought proper to return to England in May, 1688, where he took the degree of doctor of laws; and, after the promotion of Dr. Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.

The good of the church, and the reformation of all abuses among the clergy, were the constant objects of the Archbishop's thoughts; and, among other resolutions and projects for those purposes,

* Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 187.

which he intimated to Mr. Wharton in a private conference with him on the 12th of July, 1692, one was, for obliging the clergy to a more strict observance of residence on their cures.* He called likewise, not many months before his death, an assembly of the bishops at his palace, at Lambeth, where they agreed upon several important regulations; which were at first designed to be enforced by their own authority; but, upon a more mature consideration afterwards, he thought it better that they should appear under that of their Majesties, in the form of royal injunctions. He wrote therefore the following letter to the Bishop of Salisbury:†

" MY LORD, " *Lambeth House, Aug.* 31, 1694.

" HAVING now an occasion of writing, I shall, notwithstanding the protestation in your last letter, say something in answer to it.

" My Lord Marquis of Normanby having made Mr. Wasely his chaplain, sent Col. Fitz-gerald to propose him for a bishopric in Ireland, wherewith I acquainted her Majesty, who, according to her true judgment, did by no means think it fit. Their Majesties have made Dr. Foley‡ bishop of Down, and Dean Pulleyn§ bishop of Cloyne.

" I have had many thoughts about the result of the meeting at Lambeth, and for many reasons think it not safe, by our own authority or agreement among ourselves, to endeavour a redress of abuses in the particulars proposed; nor can I think it will be effectual to its end. And therefore I have pitched upon the other way your Lordship suggested to me, by a letter from their Majesties, requiring me and the Archbishop of York to communicate their Majesties' pleasure to our suffragan bishops by way of injunctions from their Majesties. To this end I have taken for my ground the paper your Lordship left with me, making as well as I could some small alterations and needful additions, of which I have sent you a copy, as also a brief and rude draught of the injunctions; together with a copy of some orders, designed by my predecessor, concern-

* MS. collections of Mr. Wharton, in the library at Lambeth.

† Communicated by the Honourable Mr. Justice Burnet.

‡ Dr. Samuel Foley, born at Clonmel, in Tipperary, 25th November, 1655, fellow of Trinity College, in Dublin, in 1677, D. D. in 1691, and consecrated bishop of Down, in September, 1694, in the room of Dr. Thomas Hacket, deprived. He died May 22, 1695.

§ Dr. Tobias Pulleyn, of Trinity College, Dublin, dean of Fernes, was consecrated bishop of Cloyne, November 12, 1694, and translated to Dromore, in May, 1695. He died in 1713.

ing ordinations, and some observations of Bishop Fell thereupon, that your Lordship may mark what you think most material to be taken out of them. And if your Lordship approve of the method proposed, I intreat you to give me your free thoughts upon every article in the injunctions, and what you would have added or altered either in them or their Majesties' letter.

"Your Lordship by Bishop Fell's observations will perceive, that he doubted whether it might be safe to meet and consult about such matters, and by our own authority to make any orders or agreement besides the law in any tittle, though never so fit. But I had also another reason, which moved me herein, that their Majesties' concernment for religion and the church might appear to the nation.

"I do not use to write so long a letter, and therefore hope to be the easilier pardoned. My humble service to your good Lady, and to my worthy friend, Mr. Secretary. I feel his absence, being almost ready to be starved to death for want of news. My two boys,* I thank God, are got safe and very easily over the small-pox. I have been six weeks in the country for my wife's health, and am but newly returned. I pray God to have you in his protection, and send us a happy meeting. I am, with great affection and respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very faithful friend and brother,

"Jo. Cant."

He wrote another letter to the same purpose, a few days after, to Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester,† in which he inclosed a draught of their Majesties' letter, and of the injunctions designed, intreating the Bishop to give him his free thoughts upon them, and to suggest that he would have either altered or added in either of them. He observed likewise in this, as well as the preceding letter, that one of his views in the method now proposed by him was, that their Majesties' care and concernment for our religion might more manifestly appear to the general satisfaction of the nation; adding, that he had acquainted the Queen with the scheme, and shewn her the draught of the letter, which, she was pleased to say, she thought would do very well.

* His grandsons.

† Communicated to me by the Right Reverend Isaac, lord bishop of Worcester, from the collection of Bishop Stillingfleet's papers, in the possession of his grandson, the Rev. Mr. Edward Stillingfleet, rector of Hartlebury, in Worcestershire, and canon of Worcester.

A few days after, his Grace wrote another letter upon this affair to the Bishop of Salisbury: *

"MY LORD, "*Lambeth House, Sept.* 10, 1694.

"THE letter, which I lately received from your Lordship, I have imparted to her Majesty, who is as desirous as yourself can be to have this matter dispatched, but cannot think it fit to put forth any thing of this nature without first advising with the King, and having his consent and concurrence thereto, especially at this time, when his return hither within a little while may so probably be expected. Hereupon I moved it might be sent to him by the first opportunity; but her Majesty thought, that he would put it off to his coming; or, if he should immediately send over his consent, yet his coming being probably so near, it might be liable to some odd construction, as if the King did not much care to appear in it, and therefore it was purposely contrived to be done in his absence. Your Lordship sees how her Majesty's great wisdom looks on every side of a thing; and therefore upon the whole matter the business must rest till the King's return: and I see no great inconvenience in it, since, according to the method now pitched upon, the reason of delaying to the King's coming will be visible to every body.

"The alteration of the clause of encouragement to the clergy is, I think, much for the better, and, which is more, so doth the Queen, who also approves of the article concerning family-devotion.

"I intreat you to give my humble service to your good Lady, and to Mr. Secretary, and to believe, that I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's faithful friend and most affectionate brother,

"JO. CANT."

The execution of this important business of the royal injunctions being delayed till the King's return on the 9th of November, a total stop was put to them by the death of the Archbishop not many days after, and that of the Queen the month following, whose endeavours were united with his upon all such occasions; her Majesty, to whom the King wholly left the matters of the church, consulting chiefly with his Grace, whom she favoured and supported in a most particular manner. And she saw what need there was of it, for a party was soon formed against him, who set themselves to censure every thing which he did. And it was a melancholy consideration, that though no Archbishop before him had ever applied

* Communicated by the Honourable Mr. Justice Burnet.

himself so entirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the church and religion, and the Queen's heart was set on promoting them, yet such an evil spirit should seem to be let loose upon the clergy. They complained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way; and the Archbishop bore the blame of all. And as he did not enter into any close correspondence, or the concerting measures with the ministry, but lived much abstracted from them; they likewise endeavoured to depress him all they could. This made a considerable impression upon him, and he grew very uneasy in his great post.*

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was raised to the archbishopric, broke out with full force upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult. One instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mentioned here. Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in sealed and directed to his Grace. Upon opening of which there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The Archbishop without any signs of emotion threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expressing great surprise and indignation at the affront, his Grace only smiled, and said, that this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others, that lay there in black and white--pointing to the papers on the table.†

Nor could the series of ill treatment which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge; being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties in speaking of others, which were to so immeasureable a degree made use of against himself.‡ And upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, "These are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do."§ The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest which malice could invent, and the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation, than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 117, 118.

† Letter of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Sharp, of November 7, 1751, who was informed of this fact by Dr. Green, vicar of St. Martin's, and afterwards bishop of Ely.

‡ Burnet's Reflections, p. 89, 90.

§ Dean Sherlock's sermon at the Temple, December 30, 1694. This sermon was immediately attacked by Mr. Jeremy Collier, in a pamphlet, in 4to. intitled, Remarks on some Sermons, in which he treats the character and memory of the Archbishop with great bitterness and indecency.

well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing, that a man who, in the course of above thirty years, had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or maxims, though perhaps it might sink too much into him with relation to his health. He was so exactly true in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their Majesties, that he neither raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those, who deserved not so well of him, but offered every thing to them with that sincerity, which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art or great management.*

He concurred with the Queen in engaging the Bishop of Salisbury to undertake his "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," which that indefatigable prelate performed in less than the compass of a year, and then sent the manuscript of his excellent work, which was not published till 1699, to the Archbishop, who, having revised and altered it in several places, returned it with his judgment upon it in the following letter: †

"MY LORD, "*Lambeth House, October* 23d, 1694.

"I HAVE with great pleasure and satisfaction read over the great volume you sent me, and am astonished to see so vast a work begun and finished in so short a time. In the article of the Trinity you have said all, that I think can be said upon so obscure and difficult an argument. The Socinians have just now published an answer to us all; but I have not had a sight of it. The negative articles against the church of Rome you have very fully explained, and with great learning and judgment. Concerning these you will meet with no opposition among ourselves. The greatest danger was to be apprehended from the points in difference between the Calvinists and Remonstrants, in which you have shewn not only great skill and moderation, but great prudence, in contenting your-

* Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 26, 27.

† Life of Bishop Burnet, at the end of the 3d vol. of his Hist. of his Own Time, p. 719.

self to represent both sides impartially, without any positive declaration of your own judgment. The account given of Athanasius's Creed seems to me no-wise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it. I pray God long to preserve your Lordship to do more such services to the church. I am, my Lord,

" Your's most affectionately,

" Jo. Cant."

He did not long survive the writing of this letter; for, on Sunday, the 18th of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness, while he was at the chapel in Whitehall. But, though his countenance shewed that he was indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit came indeed slowly on, but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak; but it appeared, that his understanding was still clear, though others could not have the advantage of it.* He continued serene and calm, and in broken words said, that he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait the will of Heaven.† He was attended the two last nights of his illness by his friend, Mr. Nelson, in whose arms he expired on the fifth day of it, Thursday, November 22d, at five in the afternoon,‡ in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The sorrow for his death was more universal than was ever known for a subject; and, when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches filled with persons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity from Lambeth to the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, where his body was interred on the 30th of that month, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

P. M.
Reverendissimi et sanctissimi Præsulis
Johannis Tillotson,
Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,
Concionatoris olim hâc in Ecclesiâ
Per Annos xxx celeberrimi,
Qui obiit x° Kal. Dec. mdclxxxxiv.
Ætatis suæ lxiiii.
Hoc posuit Elizabetha
Conjux illius mæstissima.

* Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 33. † Burnet, History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 134. ‡ Mr. Wharton's MS. collections.

His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, on 2 Tim. iv. 7. in the course of which he was interrupted by a short flow of sighs and tears, which forced their way, as was visible to the audience; who accompanied it with a general groan.*

This sermon being soon after published in 4to. had a very different effect upon Dr. Hickes, and gave occasion to his piece so often cited above, called "Some Discourses," printed the year following. The acrimony of it, which is scarce to be matched among the invectives of any age or language, was perhaps owing to private resentment, as well as to difference of opinion and party; for it is confessed by the Doctor's friends,† that he was persuaded, that both Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet had so far prejudiced Saville, earl of Halifax against him, that his Lordship was the only one of the commissioners for disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, who refused to join in the recommendation of him to King Charles II. for the deanery of Worcester, which however was bestowed upon him in August, 1683. Bishop Burnet gave a strong and clear answer to these Discourses of Dr. Hickes, in 1696, in his Reflections upon them; to which the Doctor published no reply, though Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, the reputed author, and real editor of Hereditary Right asserted, in his preface to the Doctor's piece‡ in defence of a story, which few critics now would undertake to maintain, that of the Thebæan Legion, affirms, that he wrote one, though he did not print it, as Mr. Bedford says, "for obvious reasons." But it is not probable, that these "obvious reasons" would have restrained so bold a writer as Dr. Hickes, who seemed in general to use his pen with a freedom not controlled by any apprehensions of danger, and whose former pamphlet could scarce be exceeded in that point, from vindicating himself, or at least his friends from justifying his memory, if any thing satisfactory could have been returned to the many charges of misrepresentation and falsehood imputed to him by the Bishop of Salisbury.

But whatever attempts have been or may be made upon the memory of Archbishop Tillotson, his character may be trusted to posterity upon the facts related of him from indisputable authority, and the testimony of his own writings, both private and public.

His life was indeed not only free from blemishes, but exemplary in all the parts of it. In his domestic relations, friendships, and

* Mr. Oldmixon, History of England, p. 95. who was present at that solemnity.

† See his Life in the General Dictionary, historical and critical, vol. vi.

‡ Written in 1687, and printed in 1714, in 8vo.

the whole commerce of business, he was easy and humble, frank and open, tender hearted and bountiful,* to such an extent, that while he was in a private station, he laid aside two tenths of his income for charitable uses.† He despised wealth, but as it furnished him for charity, in which he was judicious as well as liberal.‡ And though he had enjoyed considerable preferments many years before he was raised to the archbishopric, and filled that post above three years and a half, yet he did not improve his fortune from his two successive deaneries, or from that see, out of which his predecessor Sancroft had raised an estate.§ An instance of his moderation in this respect, while he was dean of St. Paul's, has been communicated to me by his worthy successor in that dignity, Thomas, lord bishop of Oxford. The only lease, which he executed separately, as dean of that cathedral, was one of a small tenement in Creed Lane, on the 9th of February, 1690. And though two others, each of a few acres of ground near London, were actually drawn and entered in the register-book, yet he left them unexecuted, because he was soon to be preferred to the archbishopric.

A decent but grave cheerfulness made his conversation as lively and agreeable, as it was useful and instructing. He was ever in good humour, always the same, both accessible and affable. He heard every thing patiently, and was not apt either to mistake or suspect; his own great candour disposing him to put the best construction, and to judge the most favourably, of all persons and things. He was never imperious nor assuming; and though he had a superior judgment to most men, yet he never dictated to others. And as no man had observed human nature more carefully, or could judge better, so none made larger allowances for the frailties of mankind, than he did.‖

The vivacity of his wit is evident under the restraints which his discourses from the pulpit exacted from him, and those which he imposed upon himself in his few controversial writings; and Sir Richard Steele, an indisputable judge in that kind, used to say, that he had a much greater share of it, than most of those, whose character was denominated from it. But his temper and principles would not suffer him to exercise it in satire, or even in self-defence; so that few repartees of his are delivered down. Among these was one in return to Sir John Trevor, who was made master of the Rolls by King James, with whom he was in high favour, and expelled for bribery by the House of Commons, while he was speaker of it.

* Funeral Sermon, p. 28. † Le Neve, p. 234. ‡ Funeral Sermon, p. 29.
§ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 136. ‖ Funeral Sermon, p. 28.

This gentleman, who, with a very obnoxious character, affected very high principles in church and state, passing by the Archbishop in the House of Lords soon after his promotion, said, in a tone loud enough to be heard by his Grace, "I hate a fanatic in lawn sleeves;" to which the Archbishop answered in a lower voice, "and I hate a knave in any sleeves." This story is related likewise, with the difference of some circumstances, that Sir John Trevor's words were carried to his Grace by Dr. Manning, then chaplain at the Rolls, upon Sir John's bidding him deliver them to the Archbishop, whom the Doctor was going to visit, though without any imagination, that the Doctor would be the bearer of such a message; to which he was too faithful, and even brought back his Grace's reply to the Master of the Rolls. Another instance of this talent was upon occasion of Dr. South's Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Trinity, in 1693. Dr. South being desirous to know the Archbishop's opinion of his performance, wherein he had occasionally reflected upon him for his "signal and peculiar encomium," as he calls it,* "of the reasoning abilities" of the Socinians, procured a friend of his to draw it from his Grace, who gave it to this effect, that the Doctor "wrote like a man, but bit like a dog." This being reported to the Doctor, he answered, "that he had rather bite like a dog, than fawn like one." To which the Archbishop replied, "that for his own part, he should choose to be a *spaniel* rather than a *cur*."

He lived in a due neglect of his person, and contempt of pleasure, but never affected pompous severities.†

In his function, he was not only a constant preacher, but likewise diligent in all the other parts of his duty; for though he had no cure of souls, yet few who had laboured so painfully as he did, in visiting the sick, in comforting the afflicted, and in settling such as were either wavering in their opinions, or troubled in mind.‡

His affability and candour, as well as abilities in his profession, made him frequently consulted in points relating both to practice and opinion. Among his letters upon these occasions, I have met with the following, in answer to two questions concerning the alienation of tithes, proposed to him by a gentleman of Gloucestershire:

"HONOURED SIR, "*April* 27, 1689.

"To the two questions proposed by you I answer:

"To the first, concerning the *Jus Divinum* of the particular

* P. 358. † Funeral Sermon, p. 29. ‡ Ibid. p. 28, 29.

way of maintenance of ministers now under the gospel by tithes, I do not see any argument, either in Bishop Andrews* or Dr. Comber,† that comes up to the proof of it. That which is called Bishop Usher's Body of Divinity,‡ was written by him in his younger years, and unskilfully compiled by some other hand.

"The second question hath no necessary dependence upon the first. For whether tithes be *jure divino*, or not, yet, supposing an honourable maintenance in general of the ministers of the gospel to be of Divine right, which, I think, is allowed by all that own a gospel ministry, the alienating of any maintenance given by private persons, or settled by law to that purpose, except in case of evident necessity for the preservation of the public, and without compensation made for it, is as much sacrilege, as the alienation of tithes, supposing that they were of Divine right and appointment. In case of public necessity, even the vessels, that were consecrated to the use of the temple, were alienated by good kings, and, for any thing I know to the contrary, without sin. I do not think the first alienation of tithes in England to have been without great fault; but since the thing is long since done, and they are now for several ages passed from hand to hand, those who were no ways accessary to the first injury, may as lawfully purchase and hold them upon a valuable consideration, as we, who now possess England, may do the lands, which certainly belonged to the ancient Britons, or those which are held by the unjust title of the conqueror. There is only this difference in the case, that we certainly know to whom tithes did originally belong; and he that can spare them from his family, shall do very well and piously to restore them to the first use: he that cannot, shall do very well; and I know not how to excuse him, if he be able to secure the main end for which they were first given, by a competent maintenance, and honourable, if the circumstances of his condition will allow it.

"I am, sir, your's,

"J. TILLOTSON."

* On the ten commandments, Comm. 4. ch. 11. Edit. 1650, and Theologica determinatio habita in publica schola Cantabrigiæ de decimis, printed among his opuscula quædam posthuma at London in 1629, in 4to. p. 141—158.

† History of Tithes, in two parts.

‡ It was published without his knowledge, and gave him great concern; and he complained of it in a letter to Mr. John Downham, the editor. See Dr. Thomas Smith's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 123. Vitæ quorundum eruditissimorum et illustrium Virorum, Edit. London, 1707. in 4to.

His love for the real philosophy of nature, and his conviction, that the study of it is the most solid support of religion, induced him, not many years after the establishment of the Royal Society, to desire to be admitted into that assembly of the greatest men of the age; into which he was accordingly elected on the 25th of January, 167½,* having been proposed on the 18th as a candidate by Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury;† and he was admitted a member on the 14th of March.‡

He had a great compass in learning. What he knew, he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly master of it. But the largeness of his genius, and the correctness of his judgment, carried him much farther, than the leisure, that he had enjoyed for study, seemed to enable him to go; for he could proceed great lengths upon general hints.§

He always endeavoured to maintain the Christian doctrine in its original purity. Even in his younger years, when he had a great liveliness of thought and extent of imagination, he avoided the disturbing the peace of the church with particular opinions, or an angry opposition about more indifferent or doubtful matters. He lived indeed in great friendship with men who differed from him. He thought, that the surest way to bring them off from their mistakes, was by gaining upon their hearts and affections. And in an age of such remarkable dissoluteness, as that in which he lived, he judged, that the best method to put a stop to the growing impiety, was first to establish the principles of natural religion, and from that to advance to the proof of Christianity and of the Scriptures, which being once solidly done would soon settle all other things. He was therefore in great doubt, whether the surest means to persuade the world to the belief of the sublime truths, that are contained in the Scriptures, concerning God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and concerning the person of Christ, was to enter much into the discussing of those mysteries. He feared, that an indiscreet insisting and descanting upon those points might do more hurt than good; and thought, that the maintaining those doctrines, as they are proposed in the Scriptures, without entering too much into explanations or controversies, would be the most effectual way to preserve the reverence that was due to them, and to fix them in men's belief. But when he was desired by some, and provoked by others, and saw just occasions moving him to it,

* Journal Book of the Royal Society, vol. iv. p. 227. † Ibid. p. 225.
‡ Ibid. p. 238. § Funeral Sermon, p. 29.

he asserted those great mysteries with that strength and clearness, which was his peculiar talent.

He thought, that the less men's consciences were entangled, and the less the communion of the church was clogged with disputable opinions or practices, the world would be the happier, consciences the freer, and the church the quieter. The Scriptures were the rule of his faith, and the chief subject of all his meditations. He judged, that the great design of Christianity was the reforming men's natures, and governing their actions, the restraining their appetites and passions, the softening their tempers, and sweetening their humours, and the raising their minds above the interests and follies of this present world to the hope and pursuit of endless blessedness; and he considered the whole Christian doctrine as a system of principles all tending to this. He looked on men's contending about lesser matters, or about subtleties relating to those that are greater, as one of the chief practices of the powers of darkness to defeat the true ends, for which the Son of God came into the world; and that they led men into much dry and angry work, who, while they were hot in the making parties, and settling opinions, became so much the slacker in those great duties, which were chiefly designed by the Christian doctrine.*

The moderation both of his temper and principles very early occasioned him, as well as Mr. Chillingworth, and others of the best and greatest men of their times, to be ranked among those divines, who were stigmatized with the name of Latitudinarians, by persons of very opposite characters. In vindication of them from the usual reproaches annexed to that title, an anonymous author had published at London in 4to. as early as June 1662, A brief Account of the new Set of Latitude-men; together with some Reflections upon the New Philosophy. By S. P. of Cambridge, in Answer to a Letter from his Friend at Oxford. And he was seconded by the pious and rational Mr. Edward Fowler, then rector of Northill, in Bedfordshire, and afterwards bishop of Gloucester, in his first work in 1670,† intitled, The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England, (greatly misunderstood) truly represented and defended. In this book he complains,‡ that this term of reproach, this word, as he calls it, "of a foot and a half long, Latitudinarian," was frequently thrown out at that time not only in conversation, but from the pulpit, and that

* Ibid. p. 29—32. † Printed at London, in 8vo. and reprinted there in 1671.
‡ P. 9, 10.

"it accompanied good store of other bombasts, and little witticisms, in seasoning not long ago the stately Oxonian theatre."* Which passage evidently refers to the speech of Dr. South, then orator of the university of Oxford, in which he treated not only the new philosophy and the Royal Society, but likewise moderation, comprehension, and other topics of that kind, with his usual virulence and buffoonery, so justly complained of by Dr. Wallis, in a letter to Mr. Boyle,† as unsuitable to a learned body on so solemn an occasion.

His gentleness towards the dissenters was attended with the consequence intended by him of reconciling many of them to the communion of the established church, and almost all of them to a greater esteem of it, than they had before entertained of it. His manner of reasoning with them on the subjects in dispute will appear from the following letter,‡ written to a lady, whose name I have not been able to discover.

"HONOURED MADAM, "*Feb.* 17th, 1681.

"I HAD returned an answer to your letter sooner, but that I did not know how to direct it, till I met with Mr. Lobb, who told me your lodgings.

"For answer to the question, in which your Ladyship desires to be resolved; though no man can act contrary to the persuasion of his mind, without violence to his conscience, which is the immediate guide and director of our actions; yet, if our conscience be misled, either by a heady and rash zeal, or some unreasonable prejudice, or for want of calm and impartial consideration of the reasons on both sides, or of a due regard in doubtful matters to the judgment of those guides whom God hath set over us, and who are likely to judge better of these things than we can; or from a neglect of any other means of rightly informing our consciences; in all these, and the like cases, the mistake of our conscience doth not so justify our actions, but that the party, that followed his conscience, may be very culpable, and guilty before God of a great sin. St. Paul reckons himself among the greatest of sinners, for what he did according to his conscience, and the firm persuasion of his own mind, in persecuting the church of God; for, he tells us, that he verily thought, he ought to do all those things, which

* It was dedicated in the beginning of July, 1669.

† Dated at Oxford, July 17, 1669. See Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 514.

‡ Communicated to me by the reverend and learned Dr. Lyttelton, dean of Exeter.

he did against the name of Jesus of Nazareth. I do not parellel the cases: but this principle holds in proportion in lesser matters, that one may be faulty, and yet act according to his conscience; which ought to make us very careful, to have our consciences rightly informed concerning what is our duty or our sin.

"As to the particular case concerning the gesture of receiving the sacrament, give me leave to use that necessary freedom, as to tell you, that I do not think your conscience is truly informed, either concerning the nature of the thing, or the consequences of it. If the gesture be indifferent, as I think it is, and as it was thought to be by the whole Christian church, for aught I can find, either by their writings or practice, for many ages, which is a very strong presumption of the indifferency of it; then can there be no well-grounded persuasion of the unlawfulness of any gesture, that is in use in the church, where we live; especially if it be enjoined by authority. If it be alleged, that the gesture, in which our Saviour celebrated it, is necessary to be followed by us; the reason must be, either because we are punctually to observe and keep to all the circumstances, used by our Saviour, in the first institution of this sacrament: and then it will be necessary, for aught I can see, to receive it in the very gesture used by our Saviour, after supper, in an upper room, not above the number of twelve besides him that administers, and only men, and not women. For if the bare example of our Saviour make it necessary to us to do the like, then every circumstance observed by him will become equally necessary to us. But this, I think, is nobody's opinion, and therefore our Saviour's bare example is of no force in this matter. Or else, the reason must be, because the gesture, used by our Saviour, is in its own nature so proper and suitable to the sacrament, as may seem to make it necessary; and this is that, which, I think, you insist upon. But we must take heed of concluding, that God hath commanded or forbidden a thing, because we think it very suitable or unsuitable. By this argument indeed the papists endeavour to prove an infallible judge of controversies, and a great many other things; but it is a very slippery and uncertain argument. And to make the whole action of the sacrament, with all the circumstances of it, to be obligatory to us, not only the administration of the sacrament in the elements of bread and wine must be expressly commanded, but every circumstance likewise must be expressly enjoined. Otherwise, the argument from an imaginable suitableness will be of no manner of force; for many things may be suitable

enough, which are by no means necessary. Besides that I cannot see, but that this way of arguing is rather of greater force as to the receiving it after supper, since this is expressly mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. where he professeth to declare the institution just as he received it, but says not a word of the gesture. And, Acts xx. we find, that the disciples met together in the evening to break bread, and in an upper chamber; so that it seems they did observe the circumstances both of time and place, in which our Saviour celebrated it. And the circumstance of time was so constantly observed by the apostles, as to give this sacrament the name of the Lord's Supper, (1 Cor. xi. 20.) which hath ever since continued in the Christian church, though the time hath been altered from evening to morning. And now, if suitableness or unsuitableness be such a mighty argument, it seems to me every whit as unsuitable to celebrate a supper in the morning, as to communicate at a feast in any other than the common table gesture.

"But then the consequence of the thing is much worse; because you must either, during this erroneous persuasion (as I think) of your mind, not receive the sacrament at all, which is to neglect a great and plain institution of the Christian religion; or you must break the peace, and separate from the communion of the church, upon such a reason, as will produce separation without end: for if every little doubt and scruple be ground sufficient to warrant a separation, the peace and unity of the church will be perpetually in danger. I have been credibly informed, that in the late times there was an anabaptist church in London, that in a short space subdivided into thirty several churches, upon different opinions about the circumstances of administering the two sacraments; and every party so stiffly insisted upon that circumstance, which they thought necessary, that they could not in conscience communicate with one another.

"And now, madam, upon the whole matter, I beseech you seriously to consider these few things. 1st, That one may sin greatly in following the persuasion of an erring conscience. 2dly, That it is only in things wherein we are perfectly at liberty, that a doubting conscience binds us from acting contrary to it; which is the case St. Paul was speaking of in the text you cite: "he that doubteth is damned, if he eat." But where there is any obligation to the thing (for instance, the command of lawful authority), this ought to overrule the doubt: for in this case it is not enough that I doubt whether the thing commanded be lawful, but I must be clearly sa-

tisfied that it is unlawful; otherwise I sin in disobeying the commands of lawful authority. 3dly, That it is not every doubt or scruple that binds the conscience, but grounded upon such reasons, as to prudent and considerate persons may minister great and just cause of doubt; for a scruple and fear, that hath no probable reason to justify it and bear it out, ought to be rejected; and, upon the advice of pious and prudent persons, one may safely act contrary to such a doubting and scrupulous conscience; especially when the ground of the doubt is such, as by the generality of Christians for many ages was never thought to be of any weight. 4thly, That it falls out somewhat unhappily, that the doubts and scruples of well-minded people are generally on the wrong side, against the peace of the church and obedience to authority; and that for one that doubts whether they can with a good conscience separate from the communion of a church, whose terms are as easy as of any Christian church in the world, there are hundreds, that upon so many different and inconsistent scruples make a doubt, whether with a good conscience they can continue in it. It is worthy our serious consideration whence this should proceed, when it is so very plain, that there is scarce any thing more strictly charged upon Christians than to endeavour the peace and unity of the church. 5thly, That if you be not undoubtedly in the right in this matter, you are certainly guilty of a great sin in forsaking the communion of our church upon this account. And lastly, That the religion which will recommend us to God doth not consist in niceties and scruples; and that if we would more attend to the great end and design of this sacrament, which is to engage us to be really good, we should neither have list nor leisure to contend about these little things; and, but that I believe you are very sincere in the proposing of this doubt, I could not have obtained of myself to spend so much time about a matter, which I think to be of so little moment. And I am verily persuaded, that our blessed Lord did for this very reason make so few positive laws in the Christian religion, hardly any besides the two sacraments, and did also leave the circumstances of these free and indifferent, that we might not be hindered from minding the weightier duties of religion, by contending about circumstances and trifles; but in all things, as becomes persons of humble and peaceable spirits, might be ready to comply with the general usage and custom of the church in which we live, and the rules and injunctions of those who have authority to command us; which I am sure is a greater duty than many, otherwise very good

people, seem to be sensible of. I heartily pray God to direct and satisfy you in this doubt. I am, madam,

" Your most faithful friend and servant,

" J. TILLOTSON."

It has indeed been affirmed, that he having frankly owned in a sermon,* that the dissenters had some plausible objections against the Common Prayer, and this occasioning Archbishop Sancroft to send for him to reprimand him, he justified his assertion; and, being asked what parts of the Common Prayer he meant, he instanced in the burial-office; upon which his Grace owned to him, that he was so little satisfied himself with that office, that for that very reason he had never taken a cure of souls. Mr. Hoadly, in his Defence of the Reasonableness of Conformity, justly questioned the truth of this story; and there is undoubtedly a mistake in one important circumstance of it; for it appears by an authentic and original certificate, that Archbishop Sancroft had been rector of Houghton-in-the-Spring, in the county of Durham, to which he was presented on the 7th of December, 1661, upon the resignation of Dr. John Barwick, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, and resigned it about December, 1664,† when himself was installed to that deanery.

The reasonableness of his doctrines, and that goodness and generosity of heart, which shone through all his writings, as well as every part of his conduct, have drawn a respect towards his memory from those, who were the least affected to religion in general, or Christianity in particular. Mr. Collins has introduced him with great respect into the most exceptionable of his own works,‡ declaring, that all English free-thinkers will own him as their head, and that even the enemies of free-thinking will allow him to be a proper instance of the purpose of his discourse upon it: that his Grace's learning and good sense are disputed by none: and that his sermons " tend to the promoting of true religion and virtue (in the practice whereof the peace and happiness of society consist), and free-thinking, and greatly exceed the idea which he used to give of the goodness of a sermon, by frequently repeating the words of a witty man, that it was a good sermon which had no hurt in it.

* See Dr. Calamy's Life of Mr. Baxter, p. 226, 2d edit. The sermon was probably that preached before the gentlemen and others born within the county of York, on the 3d of December, 1678, in which he acknowledges " in some very few things the plausible exceptions of those who differ from us."

† Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 144, *b.* marg.; and Le Neve, p. 198.

‡ Discourse of Free-Thinking, p. 171. Edit. 1713.

In short, that his works are formed for the improvement of understanding and morality." But this eloge from so suspected a writer gave occasion to one of the ablest of his answerers,* among other queries proposed to the authors (for he supposes more than one) of the Discourse of Free-Thinking, to ask, whether they could ever make reparation for the injury done to the memory of the great and good Archbishop, by putting him into the same list with Epicurus and Mr. Hobbes, against both whom he has expressed himself with so particular a severity in some parts of his works, and by thus doing the work of his worst and bitterest enemies. Whether his Grace's example had not better been imitated, than his memory thus blackened, and the abuses of religion charged only upon the abusers, and not upon religion itself. Whether his zeal against atheism and infidelity might not have been mentioned, as well as his zeal against spiritual tyranny and antichristian cruelty. Whether the injury done by these authors to his great name was not already apparent, when a conscientious author had already taken a handle from them, to misrepresent him in the grossest manner, contrary to the whole tenor of that sermon, in which he speaks of the mischiefs of popish zeal, and contrary to his express declarations concerning the Christian religion, which he in the same sermon vindicates from the least shadow of guilt upon that account. The writer of the queries concludes with remarking, that as it was to the purpose of the authors of the Discourse of Free-Thinking, to rank this good man in such company; so it was to the purpose of his popish and other furious enemies, that he, who could not enter into their blind and unchristian measures, should pass for an atheist and an infidel; so mutually do atheism and popery assist each other!

The difference between his principles and the rigid ones of Calvin, has strongly prejudiced the zealots for the latter against his writings; and their prejudices have been adopted by some late pretenders to an exalted and supernatural piety. Dr. John Edwards, the declared enemy of Mr. Locke, and the reviver of Calvinism in the church of England, after the gradual extinction of it there, attacked the Archbishop's works in his Preacher,† entirely

* Queries recommended to the authors of the late Discourse of Free-Thinking, by a Christian, p. 22, 23. Edit. London, 1713. This excellent piece, published at first without the author's name, is since known to be the performance of the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

† The first volume of which was published in 1705, the second in 1706, and the third in 1709.

omitting them in his catalogue of books, which he recommends to young students. However, he acknowledges* that his Grace "gives a very natural description of the moral virtues, and commends and sets them off with a good grace. His exhortations to, and reasonings about, practical duties, are very persuasive and penetrating; for he performs this part with so smooth and even a style, and with so popular an air, that he marvellously insinuates into the minds of all his hearers and readers." But his reflections were answered by Mr. Robert Lightfoot, B.D. and rector of Odel, in Bedfordshire, in his Remarks upon some Passages in Dr. Edwards's Preacher, printed in 1709, and in another piece, published the year following, under the title of Dr. Edwards's Vindication considered. Dr. Hickes† has indeed ventured to hope, that his Grace's pattern of preaching "would neither be long nor much followed;" and reproaches‡ him with having read but few of the Fathers, which he thinks would have rendered him a "much surer guide, as well as a more learned and sound divine." But though some few may differ from the general and impartial opinion with regard to his sentiments in the more disputable points, yet his abilities as a writer will meet with little contest while a true taste subsists among us. Mr. Dryden frequently owned with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose, which must be allowed to have been a great one, it was owing to his having often read his Grace's writings.§ And Dr. Swift, whose judgment was not usually biassed by excess of civility, vouchsafes the Archbishop the title of excellent;‖ an epithet given him likewise by Mr. Dodwell, when he appealed to him in his controversy concerning schism with Mr. Baxter.¶ Dr. Henry Felton describes him** as "all over natural and easy in the most unconstrained and freest elegancy of words. His course, both in his reasoning and his style, like a gentle and even current, is clear and deep, and calm and strong. His language is so pure, no water can be more. It floweth with so free, uninterrupted a stream, that it never stoppeth the reader or itself:

* Vol. i. p. 65. † Some Discourses, p. 51. ‡ P. 64.

§ Mr. Congreve's Dedication of Mr. Dryden's Dramatic Works to the Duke of Newcastle, edit. London, 1717.

‖ Letter to a young gentleman lately entered into holy orders, dated January 9th, $17\frac{19}{20}$.

¶ Dodwell's Defence of his Book of Schism against Mr. Baxter, p. 5. Edit. 1681, in 8vo.

** A Dissertation on reading the Classics, and forming a just Style, p. 181, 182. 4th Edit. 1730.

every word possesseth its proper place. We meet no hard, unusual, mean, far-fetched, or over-strained expression. His diction is not in the naked terms of the things he speaks of, but rather metaphorical; yet so easily are his metaphors transferred, that you would not say they intrude into another's place, but that they step into their own." Mr. Addison considered his writings as the chief standard of our language, and accordingly marked the particular phrases in the sermons published during his Grace's life-time, as the ground-work of an English dictionary, projected by that elegant writer, when he was out of all public employment, after the change of the ministry in the reign of Queen Anne.

However, one of our most elegant writers, whose version of Pliny has shewn, what was never before imagined possible, that translations may equal the force and beauty of the originals, has, in another work of his, mixed the highest compliments upon the Archbishop's sentiments with the strongest exceptions to his style, declaring,* that he " seems to have no sort of notion of rhetorical numbers; and that no man had ever less pretensions to genuine oratory: that one cannot but regret, that he, who abounds with such noble sentiments, should want the art of setting them off with all the advantage they deserve; that the sublime in morals should not be attended with a suitable elevation of language. The truth however is, his words are frequently ill chosen, and almost always ll placed. His periods are both tedious and inharmonious, as his metaphors are generally mean, and often ridiculous." But this ingenious gentleman, who allows that there is " a noble simplicity" n some of his Grace's sermons, and that his *excellent* discourse on Sincerity " deserves to be mentioned with particular applause," will perhaps mitigate his censure of the rest, if he considers the state of our language at the time of our prelate's first appearance as a writer, before he made the great improvement in it: the few exceptionable expressions to be found in his works, in comparison of what are observable in those of all his cotemporaries: the vulgarity, which some of them have contracted since his use of them: the variety of his subjects, to which his style was to be adapted, and in many of which the higher form of oratory would have been extremely unsuitable, particularly those of the argumentative kind, or upon the duties of common life: that discourses from the pulpit being chiefly designed to be pronounced, regard is often to be

* Letters on several Subjects, by the late Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, bart. Letter xxiv. p. 109, *et seq.* Edit. 1748.

had in the disposition of words and turn of sentences to the preacher's voice and manner of speaking: that genuine oratory, to which he is represented as a stranger, does not consist merely, or even principally, in the choice of well-sounding words, or the most harmonious arrangement of them, in which Archbishop Tillotson is by no means defective;* but in the more important qualities, for which he is indisputably eminent, a copiousness of invention of topics, proper for conviction and persuasion, urged with the greatest strength and clearness of expression: that the merits therefore of such a writer are not to be measured by a few passages selected out of whole volumes; especially as two-thirds of his sermons, being published after his death, want that perfection, which his last hand would have given them. And with regard to his two funeral sermons upon Mr. Gouge and Dr. Whichcot, which are affirmed to be as "cold and languid performances, as were ever perhaps produced upon such an animating subject;" not to insist upon the short time generally allowed for the preparation of discourses of that kind, it is evident that the former, being a justification of our Saviour's argument in proof of the resurrection, required reasoning rather than oratory; and the latter, after the necessary explanation of the sense of St. Paul in the text, contains some very forcible and pathetic consolations against the fear of death; and the accounts of his two friends in these sermons will be certainly acknowledged not defective in any of the characters of a just panegyric.

His eminence as a preacher having occasioned a gentleman to ask him, by what means he had obtained it, he answered, with his natural candour and modesty, "that if he had any of that excellency, he must needs own all of it to be entirely owing to his early study of the Scriptures."† And he seems, in qualifying himself for the pulpit, to have had in view the great ends of preaching, as laid down by his friend and father-in-law, Bishop Wilkins,‡ informing or persuading; which, as that excellent writer observed, "may be most effectually done by such rational ways of explication and con-

* Mr. Mason, in his Essay on the Power and Harmony of Prosaic Numbers, p. 49. Edit. London, 1749, in 8vo. justly affirms, that he had "a nice ear," and was "happy in the sweetness of his numbers."

† Discourse concerning the Certainty of a future and immortal State, in some moral, physiological, and religious Considerations. By a Doctor of Physic, p. 129. Edit. London, 1706, in 8vo. The author was Dr. Walter Harris, fellow of the College of Physicians.

‡ Preface to his Ecclesiastes.

firmation, as are most fit and proper to satisfy men's judgments and consciences. And this will in all times be accounted good sense, as being suitable to the reason of mankind; whereas all other ways are, at the best, but particular fashions, which, though at one time they may obtain, yet will presently vanish, and grow into disesteem." That prelate, indeed, in the opinion of the author of Advice to a young Clergyman, in a letter to him,* might be almost said to have taught us first to preach, as the Archbishop to have brought that art near perfection, "had there been," adds that writer, "as much life, as there is of politeness, and generally of cool, clear, close reasoning, and convincing arguments in his sermons."

The death of the Archbishop was lamented by Mr. Locke in a letter to Professor Limborch,† not only as a considerable loss to himself of a zealous and candid inquirer after truth, whom he consulted freely upon all doubts in theological subjects, and of a friend, whose sincerity he had experienced for many years, but likewise as a very important one to the English nation, and the whole body of the reformed churches. And it affected both their Majesties with the deepest concern. The Queen for many days spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears;‡ as his own death prevented him from feeling the terrible shock, which, if he had lived about five weeks longer, he must have received from that of her Majesty, of whose virtues and accomplishments he had the highest admiration, and to whom the King himself gave this testimony, that he could never see any thing in her which he could call a fault.§ His Majesty likewise never mentioned him but with some testimony of his singular esteem for his memory, and used often to declare to his son-in-law, Mr. Chadwick, that "he was the best man whom he ever knew, and the best friend whom he ever had." And this seems thoroughly to confute a common traditional story, that his Majesty should say, that he was disappointed in our Archbishop and his successor, Tennison, in opposite respects, having received much less service from the abilities of the former in busi-

* P. 45, 46, printed at London, for C. Rivington, but without any mention of the year or name of the author, who was Mr. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and addressed this letter to his curate.

† Dated at London, December 11, 1694. Familiar Letters, p. 363.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 136.

§ Preface of Dr. Edward Fowler, bishop of Gloucester, to his Discourse of "The great disingenuity and unreasonableness of repining at afflicting Providences," p. 22. Edit. London, 1695.

ness, than from the latter, of whom he had not before conceived so high an expectation.

The King's regard for the Archbishop extended to his widow. For his Grace's charity and generosity, with the expense of coming into the see, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had so exhausted his fortune, that if his first fruits had not been forgiven him by the King, his debts could not have been paid; and he left nothing to his family but the copy of his posthumous sermons, which was afterwards sold for 2500 guineas. His Majesty therefore granted Mrs. Tillotson, on the 2d of May, 1695, an annuity of 400*l.* during her natural life, and an addition to it on the 18th of August, 1698, of 200*l.* a-year more; both which were continued till her death, on the 20th of January, 170$\frac{1}{2}$. And the King was so solicitous for the regular payment of her pension without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and sent it to her himself. The augmentation of her pension appears to have been owing to the representation made by the Lord Chancellor Sommers to his Majesty, of the distress of her circumstances, upon the death of her son-in-law, Mr. Chadwick. His Lordship had been particularly informed of this by two letters, one from Dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, to Dr. Hobbs, a physician and intimate friend of his Lordship; and the other from Mr. Nelson to Lord Sommers himself. These letters are inserted here from the originals among the papers of that great lawyer and statesman.

"DEAR HOBBS, "*Deanery, Sept.* 25, 1697.

"THAT kindness, which was designed to Archbishop Tillotson's nephew for maintaining him at the university, and was then refused, as you know, is now become necessary. And your respect for the Archbishop's memory, which was your motive then, I hope continues still, especially considering the nephew was in no fault. Mrs. Tillotson has such a regard for the honour of my Lord, and such a kindness for his relations for his sake, that she would gladly maintain him if she could; but she is reduced herself to those narrow circumstances by the unexpected death of Mr. Chadwick, and that less expected condition he has left her family in, that she is utterly disabled. She came to me before I went to Tunbridge to desire me to recommend him to some family to be tutor to some young gentleman, where he might support himself; and upon that occasion acquainted me with her condition, that Mr. Chadwick had spent all his estate, but what was settled upon his wife in marriage,

which comes to her eldest son: that the youngest son and daughter had not one farthing to maintain them, but depended wholly upon her. That he had put a thousand pounds of her money into the Bank in his own name, and had given her no declaration of trust, though she had often desired it of him, which by this means is lost to her, and must pay his debts. That his estate in the Forest,* where she had built her house, and, I think, is copyhold, was purchased for his life at 300*l.* which must now be paid again. That upon his great importunity she built that house at a great expense, which is now much too big for her. I was extremely concerned to hear this sad account, and promised I would do what I could to maintain her nephew in the university: for to take him so young from thence would be his ruin; and for this reason have represented the case to you, presuming upon our old friendship, but have not the confidence to do so much to some great men you know, for it must be great kindness or great virtue, that recovers a baulked charity. But this good Lady's condition is so very pitiable, that I wish you could persuade my Lord Chancellor to represent it to his Majesty, who I am persuaded, after all his generous goodness to her, would still be inclined to compassion her new misfortunes. I am, dear sir,

"Your most affectionate friend and servant,

"WILLIAM SHERLOCK."

The Archbishop's nephew, mentioned in this letter, Mr. Robert Tillotson, son of his brother Joshua, was educated at Clare Hall, of which he was afterwards fellow; and, during the course of his education, was honoured with the favour of Lord Sommers, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledged by him in a Latin letter to his Lordship still extant. Upon entering into orders he was presented to the sinecure of Elme, of considerable value, in the isle of Ely, by the executors of the Archbishop, to whose disposal that option was left.

Mr. Nelson's letter to Lord Sommers was as follows:

"MY LORD,

"I TOOK the liberty to put Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer in mind of that favourable answer your Lordship procured from the

* Valentines, near Wanstead, in Essex.

King in reference to Mrs. Tillotson's affairs, in hopes that he would lay some proposals before his Majesty for his royal approbation, in order to satisfy the necessity of Mrs. Tillotson's circumstances, and that they might be dispatched before the King's departure; since, as I apprehend, matters of this nature suffer extremely by delay, and meet with the best success, when the sense of their fitness makes the deepest impression. The distance I live from town, and the aversion I have to be troublesome to great men, makes me ignorant of what progress Mr. Chancellor has made, though I must own he expressed great zeal to the memory of the Archbishop, and professed much readiness and inclination to serve Mrs. Tillotson.

"Your Lordship's generous procedure emboldens me to solicit the continuance of your favour, being confident, that your Lordship will receive a great deal of pleasure from seeing that finished, which your Lordship's great goodness has given a birth to. And if Mr. Montague wants any incitement besides your Lordship's example, your Lordship's constant owning Mrs. Tillotson's cause will be an argument too powerful to be resisted. I have all the respect imaginable for your Lordship's post and character, but I must profess, it is the experience of your Lordship's personal merit, which creates the profoundest respect of, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"NELSON."

"*Blackheath*, *July*, 1698."

The Archbishop had by his wife, to whom he was married at St. Lawrence Jewry, by her father-in-law, Dr. Wilkins, on the 23d of February, $166\frac{3}{4}$,* two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, who both died before him; the former, who was married to Mr. Chadwick, leaving two sons and a daughter. The elder was educated at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge, under Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, then fellow of that college, afterwards lord bishop of Winchester; and, retiring to his paternal estate, in Nottinghamshire, of about three hundred pounds a-year, died there young, leaving a son, Evelyn Chadwick, Esq. The younger son was a Turkey merchant, and died about 1735. And the daughter was married to Mr. Fowler, a considerable linen-draper, in London, and son of Dr. Fowler, bishop of Gloucester.

* From the register of St. Lawrence Jewry.

His posthumous sermons were published by his chaplain, Dr. Ralph Barker, who had been fellow of Caius College, in Cambridge, and preferred by his Grace, while dean of St. Paul's, in September, 1690, to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, in London, which he resigned in May, the year following, for some other preferment. The Doctor was particularly qualified for this office of editor, having been instructed by his patron in the character, in which he wrote all his sermons. The first volume of these sermons, which begins with one on John i. 47. the last preached by his Grace, at Kingston, July 29, 1694, was published in 1695 with a dedication to the King by Mrs. Tillotson; and the 14th and last volume was printed in 1704. Dr. Samuel Bradford, then rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, and afterwards bishop of Carlisle, in April, 1718, and of Rochester, and dean of Westminster, in 1723, who had been honoured with the friendship and patronage of his Grace, by whom he was presented to the rectory abovementioned, in November, 1693, was likewise employed in revising and correcting the impression of these sermons; besides which there was one, which was then suppressed, and is now probably lost. In that sermon the Archbishop took an occasion to complain of the usage, which he had received from the nonjuring party, and to expose in return the inconsistency of their own conduct, remarking particularly, that upon a just comparison of their principle of non-resistance with their actual non-assistance to King James II. they had little reason to boast of their loyalty to him. And yet, severe as this discourse was upon that party, Mr. Nelson, who was attached to them, was very zealous for printing it, alleging, that they deserved such a rebuke for their unjust treatment of so good a man.

His sermons against the doctrines of the church of Rome was attacked after his death in a book, intitled, A true and modest Account of the chief Points in Controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants; the writer of which, N. Colson, professes, in the beginning of his preface, "to answer the most material objections in Dr. Tillotson's Sermons," as well as "to lay down the grounds, on which the popish religion is founded." He allows indeed his Grace the character of an "ingenious person," though as he insinuates, without any solid sense or argumentation, and affirms him to have been much inferior to his antagonist, Mr. Serjeant, whom he styles "a great wit," a title, which he much less deserved, than the other, which he gives him, of "an indefatigable writer." Mr. Colson's book was answered by a divine, who had

been honoured with his Grace's acquaintance,* Lewis Atterbury, L. L. D. rector of Sheperton, and Hornsey, in Middlesex, and elder brother of Francis, lord bishop of Rochester. Dr. Atterbury's answer was published at London, in 1709, in 8vo. under the title of A Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons; being an Answer to a Popish Book, intitled, A true and modest Account of the chief Points in Controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, &c. Wherein these following heads are considered:—1. The church of Rome not Catholic. 2. The supremacy. 3. The infallibility of the church. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. Communion in one kind. 6. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 7. The invocation of saints. 8. Images. 9. Purgatory. 10. Indulgences. In his answer to Mr. Colson's preface he remarks,† that his Grace's sermons, "besides the plainness and familiarity of the expression, and the other beauties of style, have this advantage beyond other controversial writings, that his arguments against popery being intermixed with more practical truths, are read with pleasure and delight by such persons, who would never endure the fatigue of turning over and considering a book writ closely, and consisting only of dry argumentation." He owns,‡ that "the Archbishop sometimes diverts himself and his reader with the foppery and impertinences of the popish authors, their unsound reasonings, and absurd consequences; but never," adds he, "at the expense of good manners or good breeding. He every where mingles his sharpest reflections on the cause with charity to the person; reconciles controversy with goodnature, and hath shewn himself to be not only a skilful divine, and an able disputant, but also a good man, and one of the civilest gentleman-like persons in the world."

Another answer to the true and modest Account was published in a book published in April, 1725, at London, and intitled, A Vindication of the Doctrines of the Church of England in Opposition to that of Rome, as far as the Infallibility of the Church in general, or of the Church of Rome in particular, the Catholicism of the Roman Church, or the Supremacy of her Popes, and the Allegiance due to his Majesty, are concerned; in which the Objections of N. C. Papist, against Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Hammond, and other Protestant Writers, in the very Popish Words and Terms,

* See Life of Lewis Atterbury, L.L.D. by Edward Yardley, B. D. archdeacon of Cardigan, prefixed to Dr. Atterbury's Sermons, Edit. London, in 8vo.

† P. 4. ‡ P. 8.

are particularly considered: by Philip Gretton, some time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and now Rector of Springfield, Essex.

Francis Martin, of Galway, in Ireland, doctor of divinity, regius professor, and interpreter of the Greek language in the university of Louvain, undertook an elaborate confutation of the Archbishop's sermon on 1 Cor. iii. 15. concerning the Hazard of being saved in the Church of Rome; and published it at Louvain in 1714, in 8vo. under the title of "Scutum Fidei contra Hæreses hodiernas: seu Tillotsonianæ Concionis, sub titulo Strena opportuna contra Papismum, Refutatio: Auctore eximio Domino ac Magistro nostro, Francisco Martino Iberno-Galviensi," &c. The dedication to the Bishop of Bruges is dated April 13, 1714. In the preface the author declares his resolution to procure a translation of his book into French, English, and Irish. At the close of it he justifies his having every where treated the Archbishop, or, as he calls him, Pseudo-Archiepiscopus, with harshness; because he deserved it on account of his frequent and bold falsities on the subject of religion, and having been an anabaptist, and the first Archbishop of Canterbury who was married; and because it was well known what party he followed, and by whom he was promoted to that see.*

Among the protestants who have attacked his Grace's writings, one of the most forward and petulant was Dr. South, whose learning and genius were accompanied with an unrestrained acrimony of temper, and a boundless severity of language mixed with the lowest and falsest, as well as truest wit, both in his conversation and writings, against those who differed in the least from him, especially in matters which he imagined or represented to concern the interests of the established church, for which, after the Restoration, he appeared the most zealous champion on all occasions, though before that event he had insinuated himself into the good opinion of Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ Church, where he was educated, and of the independent party, whom he afterwards abandon-

* Ne minem offendat quod ubiq; Tillotsonum durius exceperim. Quia in causâ religionis toties et tam splendidè mentitus, ex Apostoli ad Titum mandato, *dure*, sicut commeruit, increpandus erat; nec mitiori stylo de mendaciis et imposturis ejus loqui me oportebat. Scapham semper licet appellare scapham. Adde quod ipse (ut heterodoxorum fide dignorum relatu accepi) Anabaptista fuerit, et primus Cantuariensem Mitram Uxori conjunxerit, cunctisq; notum sit, quibus partibus inter heterodoxos studuerit, et à quibus fuerit ad eam Dignitatem promotus. Angli saltem me intelligent. p. 220.

ed, and joined with the presbyterians.* These circumstances are related of him by Mr. Wood, who has drawn his character in a manner not at all favourable to his memory, and has the more weight from his own conformity to the Doctor's professed principles both in church and state. It is no wonder that a man of this divine's disposition should conceive an early aversion to one of so opposite a temper and conduct as Dr. Tillotson; or shew it in his writings. He took extreme offence in particular at the sermon of the latter, preached at the Yorkshire feast, in December, 1678, and animadverted upon it several years after in one of his own on Galat. ii. 5. intitled, "False Methods of governing the Church of England exploded;" in which, alluding to a passage in which Dr. Tillotson speaks of the plausible exceptions of those who differ from us, with respect to some very few things, Dr. South expresses himself thus:† "The exceptions being thus stripped of their plausibility, and force too, and returned upon the makers of them, it follows, that notwithstanding all the loud harangues concerning differing in lesser things (as the phrase still goes), and our contending about shadows, and the like, made by some amongst us, who would fain be personally popular at the cost of the public, and build themselves a reputation with the rabble on the ruins of the church, which by all the obligations of oaths and gratitude, they are bound to support, as I am sure that supports them; it follows, I say, that for the governors of our church to be ready, after all this, to yield up the received constitutions of it, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or the plausible exceptions (as their advocates are pleased to term them) of our clamorous dissenters, is so far from being a part of either the piety or prudence of those governors (as the same advocates intimate), that it is the fear of many, both pious and prudent too, that in the end it is like to prove no other than the letting a thief into the house, only to avoid the noise and trouble of his rapping at the door." He then‡ argues against the scheme of a comprehension, and points out the certain unavoidable effects of it; "nor indeed," adds he, "could any other or better be expected, by those that knew that the surest way to ruin the church would be to get into the preferments of it." He afterwards§ shews his disinclination to the toleration, which, he says, "had the fortune to get a law (or something like a law) made in its behalf."

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1042. † Dr. South's Sermons, vol. v. p. 486. Edit. 1737.
‡ Ibid. p. 494. § Ibid. p. 495.

Mrs. Astell, in one of her works, which do honour to her understanding as well as piety, and give her an eminent rank among the writers of her sex, has made some remarks * upon the Archbishop's doctrine of the satisfaction in his sermons concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour; though she treats him with the highest respect, styling him a great author, so deservedly celebrated for his good sense and just expression, the strength and clearness of his reasoning, and his natural and unaffected eloquence. And Dr. Waterland † commends this ingenious lady,‡ for having animadverted upon his Grace both modestly and judiciously.

The works of his Grace were digested by Mr. Lawrence Echard, archdeacon of Stow, into a volume of Maxims, published at London, in 1719, in 8vo. who in his preface observes, that he had been long of opinion, that out of the English writers many apothegms, wise sentences, and contracted arguments, as beneficial and agreeable as any in foreign authors, might be selected to excellent good purposes; and that "more particularly in Archbishop Tillotson's works may be found a number of passages, not inferior to Rochefoucault and La Bruyere, but with this difference, that the latter wrote with design, and the Archbishop occasionally, as his subject led him; so that their's were sometimes more finished, but his more natural: their's had sometimes a more artful turn, which the French nation have studied and practised almost to affectation; his had a native simplicity and grandeur more agreeable to the English taste. They all had a profound insight into human nature; but the French seemed to have had more subtlety, and our English author more solidity." Upon this supposition and belief, Mr. Echard undertook to make a select collection of various passages out of the writings of the Archbishop; methodizing them under proper heads and subjects, as they would well bear. This treatise he doubted not would prove both useful and entertaining to all, who have a true taste for polite and correct writing; and that those who had read but little of his works, when they came to see the justness of the thoughts, the happiness of the expressions, and the latent wit, that diffuses itself through the whole, would be incited to read him at full length, and to consider him not only as a divine and moralist,

* The Christian Religion, as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England, p. 403—418. Edit. London, 1705, in 8vo.

† Advice to a young Student, p. 24. 3d Edit.

‡ She died at Chelsea, in May, 1731. Monthly Chronicle, vol. iv. p. 95, 96; and Memoirs of several learned Ladies of Great Britain: by George Ballard, p. 460. Edit. Oxford, 1753, in 4to.

but as a gentleman, who had a large and deep insight into the nature of mankind.

The reputation of his Grace's writings in foreign countries was partly owing to Mons. Le Clerc, who, in his Bibliotheque Choisie,* for the year 1705, gave an account of the second edition, in 1699, in folio, of those published in his Grace's life-time. He declares there, that the Archbishop's merit was above any commendations which he could give, and that it was formed from the union of an extraordinary clearness of head, a great penetration, an exquisite talent of reasoning, a profound knowledge of true divinity, a solid piety, and a most peculiar perspicuity and unaffected elegance of style, with every other quality, that could be desired in a man of his order: and, to crown all this, these excellent qualities were too conspicuous not to expose him to envy and calumny, which scarce ever attack persons of the common level, or those whose qualifications are not eminent. That his Grace indeed had been accused of Socinianism, an imputation generally cast upon men, who have reasoned with a force and exactness above the vulgar, and preferred the expressions of Scripture to the language of the school-men. But slanders of this kind, instead of blemishing the reputation of men of the Archbishop's rank, only set it off with greater advantage, like shades in a picture. With regard to his sermons, Mons. Le Clerc observes, that whereas compositions of that kind are commonly mere rhetorical and popular declamations, and much better to be heard from the pulpit than read in print, those of the Archbishop are for the most part exact dissertations, and capable of bearing the test of the most rigorous examination of the most accurate reasoners.

The sermons published in his life-time were first translated into Low Dutch, and then a French version of them was begun by Mons. D'Albiac, a French minister in Holland, and the first volume of it published in 8vo. at Amsterdam, in 1706. Mons. Bernard, in his Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres,† gave a good extract of this volume, which he begins with remarking, that as the title of *sermons* is no great recommendation of a book, since many persons expect to find there only cold declamations on subjects common, and treated of a thousand times before by preachers; it would not have been improper to have intitled this work of the incomparable Archbishop, "Discourses or Dissertations upon the most important Points of Religion." He then observes, that these sermons

* Tom. vii. art. 8. p. 289, *et seq.* † Mois de Decembre, 1705, art. 2. p. 627.

would be better relished by men of learning and good taste, than by those who are destitute of both. That some perhaps might be offended with the simplicity of the style, and treat what is thus plain and natural as low. But that this simplicity in the original was no inconsiderable part of its merit among the English, so that many, who had no regard for religion, read these sermons merely for the beauty of the language. "It is to be observed," continues Mons. Bernard, "that the English do not love a pompous kind of eloquence, in which all the words are studied and placed with as much care as a statue of a saint in his niche. They are apprehensive of a design to surprise them, when they are approached with so much preparation; and they are jealous, lest this elaborate dress should either conceal or disguise the truth. They prefer the simple beauty of nature to all this affected rhetoric, so oppressed, rather than adorned, by a thousand foreign ornaments." This he thought proper to premise, as he was assured that some persons abroad would cry out, "Are these the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson, which have been so highly extolled?" And he adds, that it was affirmed, that his Grace's sermon on Prov. xiv. 34. had been made great use of in another upon that text by a learned French bishop, who was esteemed one of the best preachers that ever appeared in France.

The second volume of Mons. D'Albiac's version was published in 8vo. But the task of translating the Archbishop's works into French was already undertaken by a much abler hand, Mons. Barbeyrac, so justly esteemed for his own writings, and his excellent translations of, and commentaries upon, Grotius and Puffendorf. The first volume of his translation of his Grace's sermons was published at Amsterdam, in 1708. To this he prefixed a long preface, to shew, that the Archbishop's style and manner of preaching are best formed for doing the greatest good. He has added likewise notes and citations from the original authors referred to in the sermons. The second and third volumes were published the same year, and the fourth and fifth afterwards; and Mons. Barbeyrac revised the translations of the sixth. The Archbishop's Discourse against Transubstantiation was likewise published in French, at London, in 1685, in 12mo. and a new version of it by Mons. Barbeyrac, in 1727, in 12mo. His sermons upon Repentance were translated also into French by Mons. Beausobre, minister of the French church at Berlin, and printed at Amsterdam, in 1728, in 12mo. Thirty of his sermons were printed likewise in High Dutch

at Leipsic, in 1694, in 4to.* and great part of those published by himself were translated into that language by John Christian Frauendorf, and printed there in 1697.† Another version of fifteen of his sermons was printed at Dresden, in 1728 and 1730, in 8vo. with a preface by Bernard Walthen Marpenger;‡ and one in Low Dutch, at Rotterdam, in 1712, in 8vo.§

His funeral sermon upon his friend Dr. John Worthington, master of Jesus College, in Cambridge, and preacher at St. Bennet Fink, in London, who died in 1671, at Hackney, where he was chose lecturer the year before,‖ was never printed; but an extract of it, containing the character of the Doctor, is inserted in the preface to that learned man's Miscellanies, published at London, in 1704, in 8vo. by Dr. Fowler, bishop of Gloucester. In this character of Dr. Worthington, he represents him in the most amiable light, as a perfect example of unwearied diligence and activity in his profession, and for the general service of mankind; being furnished with a great stock of all excellent learning proper for a divine: pious and grave, without moroseness or affectation, as remarkable for humility as his knowledge; zealous in his friendships; charitable beyond the proportion of his estate; universally inoffensive, kind, and obliging, even to those, who differed from him; not passionate or contentious in debates or controversies of religion; of eminent zeal for the promotion of learning and piety; and indefatigable in collecting, reviewing, and publishing the works of Mr. Joseph Mede,¶ "which he did with so much care, that it would be hard to instance either in our own nation, or perhaps any where else, in so vast a work, that was ever published with more exactness; by which he hath raised up to himself a monument likely to last, as long as learning and religion shall continue in the world." Doctor Worthington's friendship with that great promoter of all useful learning, Mr. Samuel Hartlib, was cultivated by a frequent correspondence by letters; four-and-twenty of the Doctor's being published at the end of his Miscellanies, and several others by Bishop Kennet, in his Register and Chronicle.**

The Archbishop, besides his own discourse against Transub-

* J. A. Fabricius de veritate religionis Christianæ, p. 232.
† Id. Ibid. p. 563. ‡ Id. Lux Evangelii, p. 186.
§ Id. de veritate rel. Christian. p. 564.
‖ Preface to Dr. Worthington's discourse on Christian Love, published by his son, Mr. John Worthington, at London, in 1691. ¶ Printed at London 1664, in folio.
** P. 867—871.

stantiation, was likewise editor of another upon the same subject, intitled, "A plain Representation of Transubstantiation, as it is received in the Church of Rome, with the sandy Foundation it is built upon, and the Arguments, which do clearly avert and overturn it, written by Mr. Henry Pendlebury, who was born in Lancashire, educated at Christ's College, in Cambridge, and ejected in 1662 for nonconformity from Holcomb Chapel, in his native county, and died June 18, 1695, at the age of seventy.*

His revisal of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, by Mr. Samuel Cradock, B. D. elder brother of Dr. Zachary Cradock, preacher of Gray's Inn and provost of Eton College, was undoubtedly of considerable advantage to that work, printed at London in 1668, in fol. as his care had preserved it from the flames during the conflagration of that city in September, 1666: which obligations are mentioned by the author in his preface, with due acknowledgments to his very worthy and learned friend.

The sanction of his judgment occasioned the publication of a very valuable discourse, which had been submitted to his correction by the author, and of which the last part was addressed to him. It was printed at London, in 1682, in fol. and intitled, "A View of the Soul, in several Tracts. The first being a Discourse of the Nature and Faculties, the Effects and Operations, the Immortality and Happiness of the Soul of Man. The second a Cordial against Sorrow, or a Treatise against immoderate Care for a Man's own Posterity, and Grief for the Loss of Children. The third consists of several Epistles to the Rev. John Tillotson, D.D. and Dean of Canterbury, tending to the further Illustration of the former Arguments concerning the Soul of Man, and the Proof of a particular Providence over it. By a Person of Quality." The publisher informs the reader, that the author having drawn up the two first tracts, and resolved to submit them to the judgment of some other person, applied himself for that purpose to the Dean of Canterbury, a person well known to the world, no less for his integrity than accurate judgment, who with his wonted freedom did communicate his thoughts to him about it, and encouraged him to proceed in his design. This candour, with which that judicious person treated him, did at once both increase his esteem for him, and induced him to think over his arguments again, and try what he could farther add for their confirmation and improvement. This by times and

* Dr. Calamy's Account, p. 400.

in several ways he did prosecute, and sent his thoughts in so many familiar epistles to the Dean, whom he had now made his friend. These epistles are ten in number, containing 219 pages; and the first opens with the reason of the author's application to the Dean, though unknown, "not only," says he, "from a hearsay of your clear judgment and courteous disposition to all men, as well strangers as familiars, but from a singular opinion I had of you myself, that you were a person of frank and open discourse, and one, who would plainly and roundly tell me of my faults and follies, discover your real opinion of what lay before you, and not permit and suffer me (a mere stranger) for want of admonition, to cherish an imperfect or deformed embryo, and such as might casually hereafter be born into the world to my disgrace."

Not long after he was advanced to the Archbishopric, he had intended to have composed in Latin a system of natural and revealed religion; but the business of that important post was probably the cause of his not prosecuting the design. The plan, dated March 1st, 169$\frac{9}{1}$, is still extant in his own hand; and, as the smallest remains of so great a master deserve to be preserved, it is inserted here.

"Summa theologiæ Christianæ in 4 libros distributa.

"I. De religione naturali et mentibus humanis insciâ.

"1. De DEO lumine naturali cognoscibili.

"2. De lege naturæ.

"3. De providentiâ divinâ.

"4. De immortalitate animorum.

"5. De præmiis et pœnis post mortem.

"II. De revelatione divinâ.

"1. De variis divinæ revelationis generibus et gradibus.

"2. De revelatione ad Noachum factâ.

"3. De revelatione ad Abrahamum.

"4. De revelatione per Mosem ad Judæos.

"5. De revelatione per Christum perfectissimâ et ultimâ.

"6. Quare non prius facta, sed tandiu dilata.

"III. De religione Christianâ.

"1. De Jesu Domino et Salvatore nostro, et religionis Christianæ auctore.

"2. De materia hujus revelationis.

"3. An Christus novas leges tulerit?

"4. De perfectione hujus religionis.

"5. De sacramentis novi fœderis.

" IV. De officio hominis Christiani.
" 1. De fide hominis Christiani ad salutem necessariâ.
" 2. De pœnitentiâ.
" 3. De obedientiâ Christianâ in genere: ejus partes.
" 4. De pietate adversus Deum.
" 5. De temperantiâ et continentiâ sive castitate.
" 6. De virtutibus sive officiis proximum spectantibus.
" 7. De charitate omnium aliarum virtutum fonte et vinculo.
" 8. De obedientiâ sincerâ et verè evangelicâ.
" 9. De præparatione ad mortem.
" 10. De supremo judicio.
" 11. De vitæ futuræ præmiis, et pœnis æternis."

There are extant likewise in his common-place book in shorthand the titles of a course of sermons, with a general one of the Christian Religion vindicated and explained in several Sermons on the chief Articles of it contained in the Apostles' Creed. But they are most probably those, which he drew up for the edition of Dr. Barrow's sermons on that Creed, there being an exact correspondence between them, except that the Achbishop's title of the thirteenth sermon is Of the Truth of the Christian Religion; whereas in Dr. Barrow's works it is, Of the Truth and Divinity of the Christian Religion; and his Grace's MS. list contains 33 sermons, but in the Doctor's works there is a 34th, intitled, "The Divinity of the Holy Ghost."

The Christian religion vindicated and explained in several Sermons upon the chief Articles of it contained in the Apostles' Creed.

I believe, &c.

Sermon I. Of the evil and unreasonableness of infidelity. Heb. iii. 12. Take heed, &c. Infidelity is the cause of all the sin and all the mischief, &c.—Let the running title of this sermon be, Of Infidelity.

I believe, &c.—Sermon II. Of the virtue and reasonableness of faith. 2 Pet. i. 1. To them who have obtained, &c.—Running title, Of Faith.

I believe, &c.—Sermon III. Same text, 2 Pet. i. 1.—Running title the same.

I believe, &c.—Sermon IV. Of justifying faith. Rom. v. 1. Therefore being justified, &c.

Sermon V. I believe, &c. Text the same, Rom. v. i. Of justification by faith.

Sermon VI. I believe in God. The being of God proved from the frame of the world.—Jer. li. 15. He hath made the world by his power, &c.

Sermon VII. The being of God proved from the frame of human nature.—Gen. i. 27. So God created man, &c.

Sermon VIII. I believe in God. The being of God proved from universal consent.—Ps. xix. 3, 4. There is no speech nor language, &c.

Sermon IX. I believe in God. The being of God proved from supernatural (facts) effects.—John v. 17. But Jesus answered them, My Father, &c.

Sermon X. I believe in God the Father. Let the running title be, I believe in God the Father.—Eph. iv. 6. One God and Father of all.

Sermon XI. The Father Almighty. Running title, The Father Almighty.—Rev. xi. 17. O Lord God Almighty.

Sermon XII. Running title, Maker of heaven and earth.—Acts iv. 24. Lord, thou art God, &c.

Sermon XIII. And in Jesus Christ, &c. Of the truth of the Christian religion.—Eph. i. 13. In whom ye also trusted, &c.

Sermon XIV. And in Jesus Christ, &c. Of the impiety and imposture of Paganism and Mahometanism.—Text the same, Eph. i. 13.

Sermon XV. Of the imperfection of the Jewish religion.—Eph. i. 13.

Sermon XVI. And in Jesus Christ, &c. Of the excellency of the Christian religion.—1 Cor. ii. 6. We speak wisdom amongst them that are perfect, &c.

Sermon XVII. And in Jesus Christ. That Jesus is the true Messiah.—Acts ix. 22. Proving that this is the very Christ.

Sermon XVIII. The same title and text.

Sermon XIX. The same title and text.

Sermon XX. And in Jesus Christ. That he is the true Messiah. John v. 37. And the Father himself, &c.

Sermon XXI. His only Son. That the title.—John i. 14. And we beheld his glory, &c.

Sermon XXII. Our Lord. Running title the same.—Eph. iv. 5. One Lord.

Sermon XXIII. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost. Running title, The Incarnation of our Lord.—Matt. i. 20. For that which is, &c.

Sermon XXIV. Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary. Running title and text the same as the former.

Sermon XXV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate. Running title the same.—Text, 1 Cor. i. 23. But we preach Christ, &c.

Sermon XXVI. Was crucified. Title the same.—Text as before, 1 Cor. i. 23.

Sermon XXVII. Dead and buried. Title the same.—Text, 1 Cor. xv. 3. For I delivered, &c.

Sermon XXVIII. He descended into hell. Title the same.—Text, Acts ii. 27. Because thou, &c.

Sermon XXIX. He rose again from the dead. Title the same.—Text, Acts i. 3. To whom also he shewed himself alive after, &c.

Sermon XXX. Article. The third day he rose again. Title the same.—Text, Luke xxiv. 46. And he said unto them, Thus it is written, &c.

Sermon XXXI. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand, &c. Title the same.—Text, Mark xvi. 19. He was received up into heaven, &c.

Sermon XXXII. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Running title, The Reasonableness and Equity of a future Judgment.—Eccles. iii. 17. I said in my heart, God shall judge, &c.

Sermon XXXIII. From whence he shall come, &c. Running title, The Certainty and Circumstances of a future Judgment from Divine Revelation.—Acts x. 42. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, &c.

He had likewise formed, just before his advancement to the archbishopric, a design of a new book of Homilies, which he communicated to Bishop Burnet and Bishop Patrick;* not with any inten-

* See Bishop Burnet's preface to his Essay towards a new book of Homilies, in seven sermons, prepared at the desire of Archbishop Tillotson, and some other bishops, printed with his Sermons preached on several Occasions, London, 1713, in 8vo.

tion to lay aside the book of Homilies already established, but to add a new one to that, which we have had now near two hundred years. He thought that this was not full enough, and that it was, according to the state of things at the time in which it was composed, fitted chiefly to settle people's minds right with relation to the Reformation, and in opposition to popery; and though such a work had been of great use to the nation, another book of Homilies, which should contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Christian religion, and give a clear explanation of every thing relating to our holy faith, or to the conduct of our lives, was necessary chiefly for the instruction of the clergy, and might also be a family book for the general use of the nation.

He proposed, that it should consist of sixty-two homilies, two-and-fifty for all the Sundays of the year, and ten for the following holidays: Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Christ's Presentment in the Temple, the Annunciation, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Monday and Tuesday in Easter week, the Ascension, and Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week.

He designed that the book should begin at Advent, in this order: The first should give a view of the Mosaical dispensation: the second was to explain the prophecies concerning the Messias during the first temple; and the third those in the captivity in Daniel; and the others, during the second temple. The fourth was to shew what were the defects in that dispensation, and what was necessary to establish a better covenant upon better promises; with a particular view of the nature of the priesthood under this better dispensation, it being Ordination Sunday.

Then, from Christmas to Ash Wednesday, in a series of sermons, the circumstances of the doctrine, the parables, and the miracles of Christ, were to be copiously opened, with these particulars: On the Feast of the Circumcision, baptism was to be explained, as introduced instead of it. On Epiphany, the calling of the gentiles, with the progress that the Christian religion made, and the destruction of Jerusalem, with the persecutions that followed, were to be unfolded. On the Presentment in the Temple, the compliance with the authorized rituals of religion, even though the body of a church was much corrupted, both with false doctrines and superstitious practices, was to be evinced, but with the necessary limitations of such a degree of corruption, as should make a separation from the body not only lawful, but necessary. On the Feast of the Annun-

ciation, the hymns of the Virgin Mary, of Zacharias and Simeon, as being parts of the daily worship, were to be paraphrased and explained. On Ash Wednesday, and the three first Sundays in Lent, the whole doctrine of repentance was to be fully enlarged on; restitution and the reparation of injuries were to be much pressed; then the guilt of sin, with the just punishments due for it, both in this life, and in the next, were to be set forth, to prepare men for a due sense of the mercies of God in Christ. On the Sunday before Easter, the institution of the Lord's Supper, and every thing relating to it, were to be rightly stated. On Good Friday, the sufferings and death of Christ were to be fully set forth. On Easter Day, the resurrection was the proper subject, and both the evidence, and effects of it, were to be enlarged upon. On Monday and Tuesday in that week the doctrines of the resurrection, of the judgment to come, and of the blessedness of the saints in heaven, were to be illustrated.

In the six Sundays to Whitsuntide, the doctrine of justification was to be explained, and some expressions in the first book of Homilies, that seemed to carry justification by faith only to a height that wanted some mitigation, were to be well examined; and all that St. Paul had written on that head, both to the Romans and the Galations, was to be explained and reconciled to what St. James wrote on the same subject. Next, sanctification was to be rightly stated; faith and hope were to be explained; the mission of the apostles, and of their successors, the bishops and pastors of the church, with their authority, and its limits, were to be asserted. Christ's ascension, and his kingdom, as the Messias, were next to be proved and explained. The great effusion of the Holy Ghost on Whitsunday was then to be dwelt on, upon which the authority of the New Testament is to be proved, in opposition to tradition; and the authenticalness of the Scriptures, as they are now in our hands, was to be evinced. For the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week, the necessity of inward assistances was to be shewn, and to be guarded against the danger of enthusiasm. On Trinity Sunday, the unity of God, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were one God, was to be proved; with an exhortation to all in holy orders, to remember their vows, and to live and labour suitably to their profession.

In the Sundays after Trinity, the sum of the Ten Commandments, and every one of the ten, with the duties relating to it, were to be fully opened: in particular, humility, meekness, and contentment, and

a freedom from envy and covetousness. After this, some sermons were to be added concerning prayer, with a particular enlargement on all the parts of the Lord's Prayer. And the year was to end with some sermons, enforcing on the people the care of their souls, and their duty to God, the Creator of all things, and the Governor of the world, and the Saviour of all who believe.

This is the substance of that scheme which the Archbishop, in a long conversation with Bishop Burnet, had digested, and said he would communicate to others, to be corrected or improved, as they should advise. In order to this, Bishop Patrick undertook to examine carefully the Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, to see how they agreed with this scheme, and to select such other portions of the Gospels and Epistles, as might agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects proper for them. And from some discourse with his Grace afterwards, Bishop Burnet concluded, that he had made a good progress in it.

About the same time, their Majesties having published proclamations against profane swearing, breach of sabbath, lewdness, and drunkenness, the Archbishop desired Bishop Burnet to draw, for an essay, homilies on those subjects, promising to take a large share of the work to himself. He said, that Bishop Patrick was willing to do the same, and that he knew several persons, who had considered some matters relating to his scheme very critically, to whom he would assign such parts of it, as they would be both very ready and able to execute well; and that he had proposed the design to Bishop Lloyd, who approved highly of it, but would take no other share in it, than the revising the several compositions that were given in towards the finishing the work.

When Bishop Burnet had drawn up the five Homilies, which the Archbishop had prescribed to him, and which were afterwards printed, with the amendments of Bishop Lloyd, his Grace was so pleased with them, that he told the Bishop of Salisbury, that his Lordship must take for his share the whole Ten Commandments.

But soon after this they found a spirit of opposition growing so strong, and so much animated and supported, that it was to no purpose to struggle against it at that time. For which reason this, with many other good designs, was reserved to a better opportunity, and no further progress made in it.

The preface to the letters of Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder treason, subjoined to a new edition of

the history of it by Bishop Barlow, in 1679, in 8vo. was evidently written by his Grace, not only from the style and manner of writing, but as being likewise subscribed J. T. and the originals of those letters having been mentioned by him in his sermon on the 5th of November, the year preceding, as in his possession, being found about September, 1675, by Sir Rice Rudd, Bart. and William Wogan, of Gray's Inn, Esq. at the house of Charles Cornwallis, Esq. executor of Sir Kenelm Digby, son and heir of Sir Everard, tied up in two silk bags, among the deeds, evidences, and writings of Sir Kenelm. They were licensed for publication January 31, 1678-9, and the preface gives an account of the fidelity of their publication, with several remarks upon them; particularly, that Sir Everard appears from them to have been verily persuaded of the lawfulness of the design in which he had been engaged; and that he thought it also lawful to deny any thing upon his examination, that was to the disadvantage of his religion, or might bring others into danger, without any regard to truth; and that the design itself was a real plot, wherein several popish priests and Jesuits, and other persons of quality of that religion, were engaged: and, not only so, but that, if it had taken effect, an association of foreign princes of the same religion, by a solemn oath, like that of the holy league in France, was designed to have assured the business afterwards. "But now," continues the preface, "to come threescore years after, and to think to baffle all the records and histories of that time by a bold and groundless surmise, that all this was a contrivance of Secretary Cecil, without the least proof or evidence produced for it, is a confidence only becoming such a character and such a cause. To conclude this matter, though the priests of the Romish church are able to impose so far upon the easy credulity of their people, as to persuade them every day to deny their senses, and to believe contrary to what they plainly see; yet have they no reason to expect the same civility and compliance from us, whom they know to have, above an hundred years ago, taken up an obstinate resolution to believe our own senses, against the confidence and presumption of any church in the world."

The short time during which the Archbishop filled his see, prevented him from distinguishing, as he intended, several learned men, by the preferments in his own disposal, or his interest with the crown. Among these was Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, then archdeacon of Suffolk, prebendary of Norwich, and rector of Saham, in Norfolk, who, in a letter to his brother, dated in that city, on the

28th of December, 1694,* lamented, that "his expectations of farther advancement were all dead with the Archbishop:" nor did he receive any additional preferment till June, 1702, when he was promoted to the deanery of Norwich, upon the death of Dr. Henry Fairfax, descended of the noble family of that name, who had been expelled from his fellowship of Magdalen College, in Oxford, on account of his opposition to King James II.'s mandate for admitting Mr. Farmer president of that college.

The merits of Dr. Humphrey Hody likewise recommended him to his Grace, to whom he was appointed domestic chaplain in June, 1694.† He was born January 1st, 1659, at Odcombe, in Somersetshire, of which his father was rector, and in 1676 sent to Wadham College, in Oxford, of which he was chosen fellow, in 1684, having taken the degree of master of arts in June, 1682, as he did in February, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, that of doctor of divinity. His first performance was written while he was only bachelor of arts, in 1680 and 1681, being a Latin dissertation against Aristeas's history of the seventy interpreters, printed at Oxford, in 1685, in 8vo. This produced an answer from Isaac Vossius, canon of Windsor, at the end of his Appendix to his Observations on Pomponius Mela, printed at London, in 1686, in 4to. Dr. Hody's next work was the Prolegomena to John Malela's Chronicle. His translation into English of an ancient Greek manuscript in the public library at Oxford, published at London, in 1691, under the title of The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the new Bishops, engaged him in a controversy with Mr. Dodwell, which produced several pieces on both sides on that subject. He had been chaplain to Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, before he was taken into the family of Archbishop Tillotson, whose successor, Tennison, continued him in the same office, and gave him the rectory of Charte, near Canterbury, upon the death of Mr. Wharton, on the 5th of March, 169$\frac{4}{5}$; which Dr. Hody immediately exchanged for that of St. Michael Royal, in London. This living he held till his death on the 20th of January, 170$\frac{6}{7}$, together with the Greek professorship at Oxford, to which he was chosen in March, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, and the archdeaconry of Oxford conferred upon him in 1704. He had prepared for the press a valuable work, formed from the lectures which he had read in the course of his professorship, and containing an account of the lives,

* In the possession of John Loveday, of Causham, near Reading, Esq.

† Dissertatio de vita et scriptis Humphredi Hodii, autore S. Jebb, M. D. p. xxvi. xxvii. præfixa libro Hodii de Græcis illustribus linguæ Græcæ literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, edit. Londini, 1742.

characters, and works of those illustrious Greeks, who introduced the study of their ancient language and learning into Italy. But it continued in manuscript above thirty years after his death, and was published at London, in 1742, in 8vo. by Samuel Jebb, M. D. under the title of "De Græcis illustribus linguæ Græcæ literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, eorum vitis, scriptis, et elogiis, libri duo," with an account in Latin of the author's life, extracted chiefly from a manuscript one written by himself in English.

Another of the Archbishop's chaplains, but less eminent for his writings, which consisted only of a few sermons, was Dr. George Royse, born at Martock, in Somersetshire, about the year 1655, and admitted a semi-commoner of St. Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, in the beginning of April, 1671,* where he took the degree of bachelor of arts March 1st, 167$\frac{4}{5}$,† and was soon after elected fellow of Oriel College. Upon his taking the degree of master, May 12th, 1678,‡ he entered into holy orders, and became chaplain, first to Richard Lord Wenman, in Oxfordshire, then to George Earl of Berkley, and afterwards to King William, whom he attended in that capacity to Ireland, in June, 1690,§ having been created doctor of divinity, at Oxford, on the 22d of May that year.‖ After his return from Ireland, he was made chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson, who gave him the rectory of Newington, in Oxfordshire, vacant by the death of Dr. Henry Maurice, chaplain to his predecessor; and, on the 1st of December following, Dr. Royse was was elected provost of Oriel College, in the room of Dr. Robert Say, deceased.¶ He was afterwards advanced to the deanery of Bristol, upon the death of Dr. William Levet, being installed in it on the 10th of March, 169$\frac{3}{4}$, and died in April, 1708.**

Among others, in whose favour his Grace exercised the prerogative annexed to the archiepiscopal see of conferring degrees in the several faculties, was Mr. Robert Hooke, professor of geometry in Gresham College, to whom he gave that of doctor of physic, in December, 1691;†† who well deserved such a distinction, by his uncommon industry and sagacity in the study of natural philosophy, and the fertility of his invention in mechanics.

His long acquaintance with, and high regard for, the character and writings of that great master of botany and natural history

* Wood. Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 965. † Fasti, vol. ii. col. 195. ‡ Ibid. col. 209.
§ Athen. *ubi supra.* ‖ Fasti, col. 235. ¶ Athen. *ubi supra.*
** Willis's Survey, vol. i. p. 787.
†† Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, p. 188.

in general, Mr. John Ray, would have been of advantage to the fortune of the latter, which was very slender, after his Grace's advancement to the Archbishopric, if that modest and pious man would have accepted of preferment in the church, at a time of life, when he thought himself incapable of discharging the duties of it. Nor did he omit the first opportunity of returning the Archbishop a public mark of his gratitude and esteem, in a very polite dedication to his Grace, of his three physico-theological discourses, concerning the Chaos, the Deluge, and the Dissolution of the World.

His Grace was likewise instrumental in procuring the deanery of Durham, for Dr. Thomas Comber, with whom he had lived long in great friendship, and for whose learning and piety he had an high esteem. That deanery being vacant in 1691, by the refusal of Dr. Dennis Granville, younger brother of John, the first Earl of Bath, to take the oaths, the King was consulting with some of the leading men at court, to whom it should be given. The Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, and the Archbishop, were in the presence-chamber, when the Earl of Falconberg, who had been reduced from a wavering state, to a firm adherence to protestantism, by the private discourse and writings of Dr. Comber, especially his advice to the Roman Catholics, proposed that divine to them, as a proper person for that preferment. Whereupon the Archbishop, being as much influenced by his regard for the Doctor, as the Marquis was connected with him by family, they immediately approved of Lord Falconberg's proposal, and Dr. Comber being recommended to his Majesty, was presented to the deanery.* The year following, his Grace requested the new Dean, to write an answer to a virulent libel against the government, called Great Britain's Just Complaint, of which Sir James Montgomery was supposed to be the author: and the Dean having finished his confutation of it, sent it to the Archbishop, who immediately caused it to be printed, though without the writer's name.† His Grace had many years before interposed to moderate the differences between Dr. Comber and Dr. Burnet, on account of the History of the Regale, published by the latter, in 1682, to which the former having written an answer, sent it to Dr. Lake, bishop of Chichester, who committed it to the press, after having shewn it to some of Dr. Burnet's friends; which

* Extract of a MS. life of Dr. Thomas Comber, some time dean of Durham, written by himself.

† Ibid.

occasioning much altercation both in words and writings, Dr. Tillotson used all his interest with the contending parties for an accommodation. And, two years after, when Dr. Comber was preparing for the press, the Second Part of the History of Tithes against Mr. Selden, and Dr. Burnet's book abovementioned, and a treatise ascribed to father Paul, Dr. Burnett being then in disfavour, with the court, and going into France, their common friend Dr. Tillotson, requested Dr. Comber to omit all mention of that divine in his work, which he readily consented to do.*

Such are the memorials relating to the incomparable Archbishop Tillotson, which the distance of above half a century from his death has allowed me to collect: a task too long neglected by others, and now undertaken by me from a just apprehension, that most of the present materials for a life of him, would in all probability have been lost in a course of a few years more. I can only wish, that the public may receive the same satisfaction from the result of my labour, as I have from the prosecution of this attempt to do justice to the memory of one of the greatest and best of men. I have at present nothing farther to add upon this subject, except what will be found in the Appendix: and I shall make some amends for my own imperfections, by introducing there the judicious observations of a writer,† whose friendship I must always esteem a singular advantage to myself, as his works are universally allowed to be to the joint interests of learning and religion.

* MS. life of Dr. Comber. † The Rev. Mr. Jortin.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Some Memorials of the most reverend Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, *late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: written upon the news of his death by* J. B.* *M. A. for his own private satisfaction, and out of honour to his Grace's memory.*

I HAVE reason to be nearly and closely concerned, upon the hearing of this unexpected news, and to lament it, not only in reference to myself, considering my *quondam* relation to him, as his first admitted pupil, about the latter end of March, 165$\frac{0}{1}$, now almost forty-four years ago; but also upon account of the public loss both to this kingdom and church, by the taking away of so great a person, the chief metropolitan of this church, and privy-councellor to their most gracious Majesties, the prime ornament of his age, the love and admiration of all good men, of all ranks and qualities. I do and must ever acknowledge with thankfulness to Almighty God, that it was a great blessing, and a merciful disposal of his providence to me, that I was placed under the tuition of so excellent a person, as he was then, being but junior bachelor, and only a probationer for a fellowship in Clare Hall, Cambridge. There were several others admitted under his tuition the same year, and, among the rest, the worthy Master of the Charter House, Dr. Burnet. But he had other pupils besides, which were put over to him by Mr. Clarkson, fellow of the said college, who had been his own tutor.

He was at those years a very good scholar, an acute logician and philosopher, a quick disputant, of a solid judgment, and no way unqualified for the trust and charge incumbent upon him. He spoke Latin exceedingly well, read lectures to us, that were admitted under him, out of Burgersdicius's logic, with great smartness and judgment; and when he went to take a new lecture, he examined

* John Beardmore, who was admitted sizar and pupil to Dominus Tillotson on the 7th of April, 1651, according to the register of Clare Hall, in Cambridge.

us about the former, according to the author, and his own explanations. When we went to prayers in his chamber a-nights, he put us for some time at first upon construing or rendering into Latin a chapter in the Greek Testament, in which he was a very great critic; and, afterwards, in process of time, he used to put some or other upon giving account of the day's reading; after which account given, he would put them upon defending their author and his sense or tenets. This was ever done in Latin; for I know not that ever he spoke a word of English to us, whilst we were so together, or permitted any of us to do so. He sometimes had us to declaim or dispute before him in his chamber also: but his was done in the afternoon upon such days as he appointed. We also went to him to prayers, for the most part duly on Lord's day nights, when he examined some or other of the sermon or sermons heard that day; and this was done in English, for that was the only day, when he spake to us, or we gave him our accounts, in English.

His prayers were (according to the use of those times) of that sort, which we call *conceived* prayers, in which he had a very great faculty; but always performed them with gravity and fervour; as he did, also, when it was his course to perform prayer in the chapel.

In the week days, when he had his prayer, as we were going out of his chamber, he usually recalled some one of us, and then would use those he called with a fair freedom; discourse them kindly, encourage to studiousness, seriousness, and diligence, or tell them of any fault he either observed or heard of in them; and those, that deserved it, he would reprove very sharply.

Thus he was a very good tutor, and careful of his pupils' behaviours and manners; had a true love for those of us, that he saw deport themselves well, and was respectful to them; but very severe upon those, that did otherwise.

As for my other observations concerning him, whilst I was related to him, and knew him, they are such as these that follow:

He was very religious and serious; prayed much in secret, in his bed-chamber: he used his voice in them, but so as none could perceive or hear the same, as I think, except myself, who kept just over him. He seemed to be much contrite in his devotions; and he doubtless read the Scriptures much, it appearing by his sermons, that he was very ready in them.

He was a very attentive hearer of sermons, of which in that time there was both great and good store, he generally hearing four every Lord's day, besides the weekly lecture at Trinity Church, on Wed-

nesdays, which was preached by a combination of the worthiest and best preachers in the university at that time, all of them fellows of colleges.

That time being a time of freedom, the most prevailing men were generally contra-remonstrants, and used to preach much upon those subjects, as Dr. Hill* especially. Mr. Tillotson heard him constantly on Lord's day mornings at St. Michael's Church, and in the afternoons often at Trinity: but it did not appear afterwards, that he imbibed that sort of theology, but rather was plainly averse to it. There were divers young preachers came up in those times who were of a freer temper and genius; such as were Mr. Samuel Jacomb,† Mr. Bright, of Emanuel College,‡ Mr. Patrick, bishop of Ely, and others; who went not that way. Mr. Tillotson seemed to be an eclectic man, and not to bind himself to opinions.

He was a person of very good wit, sharp, and acute, pleasant in conversation, but with much decorum and gravity for his years.

I know not, that he was of those called hard and plodding students, nor affected to be so. He did not note or pick out by way of common-place, or otherwise, out of books he read, but only marked them, or some of them, that he meant to familiarize, with a black pen. He read Tully well; and I think I have heard say, also, Twisse's Vindiciæ Gratiæ; not that he was principled with the doctrine of it, which I have touched before; it appears he was not, but because of the acuteness of that author in disputation.

He was not employed much in exercise either in public or in the College, but rather declined it all he could; but what he was put upon, he performed it very well.

* Thomas Hill, D. D. educated at Emanuel College, in the university of Cambridge, and incorporated as master of arts in that of Oxford, on the 9th of July, 1622. He was afterwards rector of Tychmarsh, in Northamptonshire, and one of the assembly of divines, and at last master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in the room of Dr. Thomas Comber, ejected by the authority of the long parliament, before whom Dr. Hill was a frequent preacher. He died in 1653, being succeeded by Dr. Arrowsmith, and his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Anthony Tuckney, and printed in 1654, in 8vo.

† He was B. D. and fellow of Queen's College, in Cambridge, and afterwards chosen minister of St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard Street, in London, where he died on the 12th of June, 1659, in the 30th year of his age, his funeral sermon being preached on the 17th of that month, by Simon Patrick, B. D. then minister of Battersea, in Surry.

‡ George Bright, afterwards D. D. rector of Loughborough, in Leicestershire, chaplain to Mary, Princess of Orange, and after the Revolution dean of St. Asaph. He published in 1625 six sermons preached before the Queen at Whitehall, and was editor of the first volume of Dr. Lightfoot's Works, printed at London, 1684, in folio.

There was a kind of feud in the College betwixt the old and the new fellows; for it is well known what differences in opinion and affection the civil wars created in the nation, which differences extended to the universities, and the particular colleges and societies therein, as well as to other places. The old fellows that then remained in the College, had indeed so far dispensed with their judgments, as to have either taken the covenant, and after that, the *engagement*, as it was called, or otherwise to have complied so far with the prevalent powers of those times, as to have kept their fellowships; but yet still very likely in their inward thoughts and inclinations to lean to the ancient government, both in church and state. I believe Mr. Tillotson, then, according to the prejudices of his education, might be something biassed the other way (though not very hotly, after I came under him), and so was one of those, who lay rather under the disgust of the senior fellows: yet he kept himself so even and temperate in his speeches and other demeanour of himself, as that I never heard or observed any particular reflections upon him from the other party; and in special I have observed, that Mr. Jackson, the president or senior of the fellows, since Dr. Jackson, ever gave a fair respect to him.

Though he was probationer to a fellowship in 1651, (which I think was by mandamus from the higher powers,) yet he was not actually admitted into a fellowship of some considerable time, but lived at his own charge. At length two fellowships being declared void, he was received into one of them, and one Mr. Newce (who also had lived as probationer) was taken into the other.

I have heard him say, the society dealt not fairly with him about that matter. For when, after the Restoration in the year 1660, those fellows, who had been turned out upon account of their not taking the covenant, came to be re-admitted into their fellowships, and, among the rest, the famous Dr. Peter Gunning; he being then a man of interest and power, would needs have it, that the fellowship, into which Mr. Tillotson had been admitted, was formerly his, though the latter told me, he was sure it was not, but one that was fairly and legally void upon a fellow's leaving it by cession. But the beforesaid Dr. Gunning having some personal pique against Mr. Tillotson (though at the same time he said he could scarcely tell wherein he had disobliged him), yet, I say, Dr. Gunning so wrought with the society, as that they complied with his pretences, and so put Mr. Tillotson out of his fellowship. This, I have heard him say, he had reason to take ill from the society, as not having

done him right, but dealing unkindly with him, who, if there had been nothing else in it, deserved to have been esteemed a benefactor to the College upon such accounts, as I shall touch upon by and by. As for Dr. Gunning, he was very hot and earnest to put this disrespect upon him; for though he knew, that he was to be chosen master of Bennet College the very next day, upon the vacancy by the death of Dr. Love; and though Mr. Tillotson's merits to the College were insisted upon and pleaded by some (at least) of the society; yet he was so vehement in the business, as to say, "let justice be done first, and then, if they were minded to do Mr. Tillotson a favour, they might do that afterward."

In the year 1655, Mr. Tillotson was appointed to keep the Philosophy Act, at the public commencement; which he performed to much satisfaction, yea even to admiration.

Soon after, he went to London, and was tutor to Prideaux's son or sons, who was then attorney-general to Oliver, the Protector, and in that station it came to pass, that he was instrumental in procuring the good to the College intimated before. For by the Attorney's means, he obtained a thousand pounds to be paid out of the Exchequer to the College for wood and stone prepared for carrying on its building, but seized by the parliament-party towards fortifying the castle at Cambridge in the time of the war. Moreover, whilst he resided in London, it happened, that he fell into acquaintance with an old gentleman, one Mr. Diggons, who had formerly been fellow-commoner of Clare Hall, a very humoursome person, and had taken disgust against some of his own relations. With him Mr. Tillotson wrought so, as to prevail with him to leave 300*l*. per annum to the College.

The College had been then very low, much in debt; and therefore both these benefits came as seasonably, as they did unexpectedly. Moreover he told me, that he had received very little or no profit by his fellowship all the time he was possessed of it; but let all go to the benefit of the College.

During his abode at London, in this private state, he improved very much; among other ways, by hearing the best of sermons, and conversing with very worthy persons, as particularly Bishop Brownrig, who was then preacher at the Temple; Dr. Hacket, afterwards bishop of Litchfield; and of the other persuasion, viz. presbyterian, I have heard him profess his great esteem of Dr. Bates, both for his learning and good temper.

He did not appear as a preacher till after the Restoration, 1660

taking orders (as he hath told me) from the old Scottish Bishop of Galloway,* who at that time had great recourse made to him on that account. King Charles II. was then so favourable to the presbyterian party, that he offered bishoprics to some of that persuasion; as to old Mr. Calamy for one; and Mr. Tillotson told me, in the year 1661, that the good old man deliberated about it some considerable time, professing to see the great inconvenience of the presbyterian parity of ministers. And Mr. Tillotson said, if Mr. Calamy had accepted of the bishopric of Litchfield, which was offered him, Dr. Bates had been dean, and Mr. Miles and himself were designed for two of the canons. But, as he added also, though Mr. Calamy was in a manner induced to a willingness to have embraced the King's offer, yet, Mrs. Calamy being against it, overruled her husband, and so the matter went off.

Upon the first beginning of his preaching, he shewed his great learning, reason, judgment, and abilities. Witness his sermon preached at the morning lecture at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in September, 1661, on Matt. vii. 12. upon which subject he hath treated very judiciously and comprehensively; though I heard him say, he preached that sermon, for Dr. Bates, upon but little warning.

He soon became lecturer at St. Lawrence Jewry, which he continued till his advancement to the see of Canterbury.

In the beginning of the year 1663, he was presented to the parsonage of Ketton, in Suffolk, by Sir Thomas Barnardiston, whose seat is there. It was void by the going out of old Mr. Fairclough, upon account of nonconformity after the Bartholomew-act, 1662; but he staid not there long, as being chosen preacher at Lincoln's Inn, about Michaelmas after, and in that station he continued

* Dr. Thomas Sydserf, the only Scots bishop, who was living at the Restoration, when he came up to London, not doubting but that he should be advanced to the primacy of Scotland, though he failed of his expectations, having given offence to the English bishops by his promiscuous ordinations, when he first came to England. For when the act of Uniformity required all men, who held any benefices there, to be episcopally ordained, he who, by observing the ill effects of the former violence of the Scots bishops, was become very moderate, with others of the Scots clergy who gathered about him, ordained all those of the English clergy, who came to him, without demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them. This was supposed by some to be done by him, merely for a subsistence from the fees for the letters of orders granted by him, for he was poor. However, he was translated to the bishopric of Orkney, one of the best revenues of any of the sees in Scotland, in which he lived little more than a year. This is the account of him in Bishop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132, 133. who in another place, p. 26, styles him a very learned and good man.

till his being promoted as above. And how much he esteemed that honourable Society, he hath divers ways made public acknowledgment; and there was no kindness lost between them and him; for the great men of that house gave a very great deference to him, as is publicly known.

After the preferment of Dr. Seth Ward, minister of St. Lawrence Jewry, to a bishopric, Dr. John Wilkins succeeded him there, where, as was said, Mr. Tillotson being lecturer, this, as I suppose, gave occasion to a very great intimacy and friendship betwixt that learned and worthy person and Mr. Tillotson, which the latter valued not a little.

Dr. Wilkins had a reputation, and that most deservedly, of being a person of extraordinary worth and learning. Besides his skill in divinity, he was accomplished in the knowledge of the best philosophy of all sorts, that was in vogue at that time; not that crabbed disputatious sort of it, which some persons have attained to, that have lived long in the university; but that more free, generous, benign, and good-humoured way of philosophizing, that began to appear openly in that age, though it had many opposers and maligners. Dr. Wilkins had been for some years before the happy restoration of King Charles II. the great encourager of this method of philosophizing in Oxford, where he was head of Wadham College; and had begun a sort of society for the communicating of experiments in natural philosophy, for the making it useful and beneficial to mankind, in the affairs of human life; and when he was made master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, he set up a like society there; and, after the coming in of King Charles II. was the chief instrument in forming that, which then came to be called the Royal Society: which contrivance, how taking it was, appeared in that so many persons of noblest rank and highest quality, in a short time, entered themselves into it, and the King himself vouchsafed to be head of it. What a value the learned and ingenious of that Society had for Dr. Wilkins, appears by its history writ by Dr. Sprat, by Mr. Hook's microscopical experiments, and divers others of them, that have published their books. As for theology, how able he was, appears by the two little books he put forth, about the Gift of Prayer and that of Preaching, the little tract called the Beauty of Providence, with some sermons before the King, appointed to be printed, his treatise about Natural Religion, and a volume of sermons printed since his death.

But that which made him most remarked upon, was his great moderation in the points agitated betwixt the conformists and nonconformists, about liturgy, ceremonies, &c. which made him become the object of odium and envy to a great party in our church; i. e. all the bishops and churchmen, that were very high and zealous for the particular establishments in those points; insomuch, that he was looked upon as the head of the latitudinarians, as they were then styled; i. e. persons that had no great liking for the Liturgy, or ceremonies, or indeed the government of this church, but yet had attained to such a largeness and freedom of judgment, as that they could conform, though without any warmth or affection for these things: and those that went this way, were looked upon as the worst and most dangerous enemies of the church of England.

Nevertheless, this Dr. Wilkins had so well acquitted himself, and had such considerable friends, as that he came to be made bishop of Chester, about the year 1669, or 1670. But still persisting in the same moderation and temper, he, together with Lord Chief Justice Hale, and some very few more, became the promoter of a bill of Comprehension, as it was called, viz. to take in, and comprehend some, at least, of the better tempered nonconformists, in a capacity of being restored to the public service of the church. But the project had too many opposers, and so came to be laid aside; and this learned and moderate bishop lived not long after the rejection of it.

I am sensible this is a digression from my intended history of Mr. Tillotson; but yet it may be useful to the better understanding some passages about him. For Mr. Tillotson, by the advantage before observed, viz. of being lecturer of that church, whereof the Doctor was rector, came to have the most intimate acquaintance and conversation with him, and married his daughter-in-law.

I remember, that about May, 1665, being at Coventry, I went to wait upon Bishop Hacket, as he was returning from London to Litchfield; who spoke much to the commendation of Mr. Tillotson, as to his learning and preaching, and particularly praised his sermon, then newly printed, called The Wisdom of being Religious, as the best thing against atheism, that ever he saw in the compass of a sermon. "But," saith he, "he is now fallen in with Dr. Wilkins, and is become a presbyterian, and an enemy of the church of England;" or to that purpose: "And," says he, "he never came to see me all this time I have been at London; whereas formerly I have conversed with him with great familiarity." I did by letter acquaint him with

the importance of the Bishop's complaint of him, who returned to me, that the opinion, which I myself had expressed of Dr. Wilkins's worth, was true and just: that the Bishop's fears of himself being become a presbyterian, were causeless and groundless; for he had long before fixed his principles about church-government, and was in no likelihood of altering them; and that it was by reason of his much business, that he had not waited on his Lordship when in town.

He was an eminent encounterer of atheism and infidelity, which began very publicly to appear; and the first specimen he gave of his ability that way, in public, was the forementioned sermon, preached before the Lord Mayor, at St. Paul's, in the year 166$\frac{3}{4}$, on Job xxviii. 28. printed with this title, "The Wisdom of being Religious."

Then he set himself also most professedly against popery, and all the main limbs of it; and his sermons were most clear and distinct upon all the points he undertook, and struck home.

His first public essay and appearance against popery, was his confutation of Mr. J. Serjeant's book, who with great confidence and assurance thought to build up popery, and confute protestancy, by self-evident principles. But Dr. Tillotson, did so maul and unravel him, as that, though Mr. Serjeant made some kind of faint attempts against him, he could never recover himself of the blows given him; only whined and complained.

Next, that noted sermon of his, preached at Whitehall, in the beginning of the year 1672, about the difficulty of salvation in the Roman Church, on 1 Cor. iii. 15. which, they say, so nettled the Duke of York,* who to that time had concealed himself, being a papist in masquerade, and frequented the King's chapel, that afterwards he forsook it, and never more appeared there. It is observable, that this was about that time, when King Charles put forth his declaration of indulgence, which he recalled upon the parliament's address to him against it; and soon after, in the same session of parliament, or the next after, was passed the first Test-Act.

Then followed the discovery of the popish plot, which gave occasion to him to expose the principles of the Roman church, as to destroying persons upon account of religion; which he did notably

* The offence which this sermon gave, is said to have occasioned it to be forbid to be printed; but a noble Lord having borrowed a copy of it of the Dean, it was printed privately without his knowledge in 1673.

in that sermon he preached before the House of Commons on Luke ix. 55, 56, November the 5th, 1678.

His concern against popery was exceeding hearty and sincere; he had studied and thoroughly considered the nature, and genius, and tendency of it. He was mighty sensible of the danger this nation was in, of being either wheedled or forced into it. I believe the apprehensions hereof kept him in vehement thoughts and agitations of mind for many years; so that he scarcely ever preached a sermon without some very home-blow against it, or some doctrine or practice of that church; so that he was both hated, and yet feared, by those of that way.

I need not much insist upon his zeal against debauchery and profaneness; for these he ever sharply reproved and exposed.

It should appear, that he had many good friends; and, above all the rest, King Charles II. who, as I have heard, much esteemed him for his preaching. When Dr. Turner, the dean of Canterbury, died, I have heard that three very great persons applied to the King to make him dean of Canterbury.* The King was then just going for Newmarket, and put them all off till his return. Upon which, when he came to hear them propose the person, on whose behalf they spoke, it appeared that they all concurred in Dr. Tillotson. The great persons that besought the King, were the Archbishop of Canterbury, that then was, Dr. Shelton, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Berkley; which when the King understood, and that they did it not by any mutual correspondence, but each one out of their own particular respect to the Doctor, he was very well pleased, and so preferred him very readily. So also he preferred him after to be one of the residentiaries of St. Paul's, at the same time that Dr. Sancroft, dean of St. Paul's, was made archbishop, and Dr. Stillingfleet dean in his stead.

About the years 1680 and 81, when, after the discovery of the popish plot, things began to be turned the quite contrary way, and great heats arose between the tories and whigs, the Dean of Canterbury still persisted in his former way of zeal against popery, and moderation towards dissenters, and preserving himself as unconcerned as might be in those heats. He had then a difficult

* It appears from a MS. account of the public transactions, in the possession of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Weymouth, that the King was gone to Newmarket on the 3d of October, 1672, five days before the death of Dr. Turner; upon which Dr. Tillotson was named as standing fairest to succeed him in the deanery; as he did immediately after his Majesty's return to Whitehall, on the 19th of that month.

task of it, and lay under suspicions and censures; partly for sticking close to Lord Russel, visiting him in prison, and accompanying him to the scaffold, and there praying with and for him. Dr. Burnet was fain to leave the kingdom upon that and some such like accounts, and betake himself to travel, not returning till he came in with the Prince of Orange in 1688. But Sir Roger l'Estrange, however it came to pass, became the Dean's advocate, vindicating him in his Animadversions upon Lord Russel's paper.

What by reason of the heats and divisions that were among people, and what because of the much company that flocked in to him, the town was become very uneasy to him; and therefore he bought a house at Edmonton, whither he might retire, and be a little more private: which accordingly he did for the most part for five or six years, viz. the last part of King Charles's reign, and the short reign of King James the Second, which we may easily understand, were become very adverse and opposite to him. Yet all that time he continued his preaching both at Lincoln's Inn and at St. Lawrence, with his usual freedom, or rather with greater zeal and fervency, to confirm his auditors against popery. And, blessed be God, as many adversaries as he had, and those great ones too, yet God was with him; so that none of them set upon him to hurt or molest him, so far as I ever heard.

Upon the wonderful deliverance of this nation from popery and arbitrary power, by the extraordinary providence of God, and, under the same, by the matchless expedition of the Prince of Orange, anno 1688, he soon shewed his affection, and delivered his sense of it, in his sermon at Lincoln's Inn upon Ezra ix. 13, 14. preached on the thanksgiving day appointed for that occasion: upon which day appointed for the country, I myself also preached on the very same text. In that sermon he said, that nothing could obstruct our happy settlement, except some mistaken principles concerning allegiance, with other remarkable expressions.

I have heard, that when some bishoprics were vacant, and he was offered one by King William, he answered, that had he been in such health and vigour, as to be able to manage the duties of the episcopal function, he would not have declined the office; but he found decays in himself, and so desired to be excused.

When Dr. Stillingfleet was made bishop of Worcester, he was made dean of St. Paul's: which the Bishop of Salisbury, in his funeral sermon for him, intimates was, because he was not willing to have more than one single preferment; and that his holding two,

viz. the deanery of Canterbury, and one of the residentiary prebends of St. Paul's, was rather in compliance with the times, and because he would not decline what was so frankly offered him by King Charles II. than out of any inclination or liking of his own.

Next, upon the nonjurant bishops altogether refusing to come into the government of their Majesties, he, after much reluctancy, was at length prevailed with by the King and Queen to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury. How he carried himself in that high station, is better known to the world than to myself, being at so great a distance, and having had no correspondence with him. What I shall add further, shall only be something concerning his character; which yet I am sensible I am insufficient to give, for the reasons now mentioned, were there no other.

He was a person of unblemished conversation, not to be charged with any either intemperance or covetousness, or any other vice whatsoever, which, as they are spots even in a layman's life, so they appear much more foul in a clergyman. He lived well upon the incomes of his preferments, kept a good table, and was hospitable and charitable; did not enrich himself, nor lay up much money; and it is said, that his advancement to the metropolitical see, as he managed matters, did not increase, but much diminish, his estate. For he enjoyed it not full four years, and besides the first fruits, which are high, and other public payments, he built an apartment for his lady, paid a considerable debt of Archbishop Sancroft's, kept a very splendid and plentiful table, was bountiful and charitable in relieving the poor, besides other ways of draining his purse. He was not a man that valued the world, or laboured to be rich, or studied his temporal interest; but, as he taught others, so he lived above the world, and the advantages of it; knew how to use it, so as not to abuse it.

He was one of a very sweet nature, friendly and obliging, and ready to serve his friends any way that he could by his interest and authority, when they applied to him; and this he did freely and generously, without any oblique designs to serve himself.

He was very affable and conversible, not sour or sullen, not proud or haughty, not addicted to any thing of moroseness, affected gravity, or to keep at a great distance from those that were much his inferiors; but open and free, gentle and easy, pleasant and amiable, to those especially that he was acquainted with, or that he looked upon as honest and good.

His common and familiar discourse was witty and facetious, but

very inoffensive: not at all biting or disobliging; nothing that was vain or trifling, nothing calumniatory or reflecting upon others' reputation, absent or present, passed from him; and even as to those that differed from him, he was fair and candid in his censures of them.

His more grave discourses were very weighty; he spoke apophthegms; was very serious in giving good counsels, or resolving doubts, or recommending religion and virtue.

He was wise and prudent in his whole deportment, speaking and acting all things with great evenness and steadiness, not with blustering or temerity, or so as to give just offence to any. He understood human nature well, and how ill any take it to be slighted or disrespected; and therefore he was obliging to all, disobliging to none, so far as it was possible. And yet this his wisdom was so tempered with uprightness and sincerity, that he appeared not in the least to be crafty or designing. He was greatly esteemed for his integrity, and therefore intrusted by divers great persons in the management of their affairs and concernments; made their executor or trustee for the governing of their estates, preserving them to their children, or otherwise to such purposes, as they had appointed by their wills.

As he was eminent in these and the like homiletical virtues, so he was very much esteemed for them by persons of all ranks, especially by those of higher rank and quality. He had a mighty respect paid him in London, and his company and conversation were very much desired and valued.

In reference to those notorious differences among us upon account of conformity and nonconformity, I have intimated before how moderate he was: his moderation was known unto all men; it was his peculiar virtue, as it had been Bishop Wilkins's also. He was naturally disposed to it, as I may say, having had, as Bishop Burnet saith, his first education among the puritans, even as it was Bishop Wilkins's lot also, being grandson to the famous Mr. Dod, and in his minority instructed by him. Our Archbishop indeed had not any near relation, so far as I ever heard, of the function of a clergyman that was of that persuasion; his father being a layman, a clothier of good repute, living at Sowerby near Halifax, and reckoned to be a puritan, as they were called in the time before the late wars. But, as I have partly noted before, his son got out of the prejudices of his education, when but a very young man in Cambridge, divers years before the Restoration, in

1660, or any prospect of it, when the temptation, as to hopes of favour and preferment, lay the quite other way; and so consequently he could not be thought to have changed his judgment in that respect, upon any sway or motive of advancing himself in temporal concernments: no, but on the contrary, upon weighty reasons, when he came to be of years and capacity to settle his principles in religion, and to make it a matter of choice, not of education only. And when he saw cause so to do, he did not warp too much to the other extreme, to become a bigotted zealot for the church and hierarchy, as many have done; but, like a wise and good man, made a discrimination, kept to what was good in the puritans, their pious strictness, their renunciation of the public vices of swearing, drunkenness, debauchery, licentiousness of manners, &c. only relinquished their mistakes, their placing too much religion in little distinctions and singularities, and their odd aversions to the church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies.

And moreover that, which I mainly drive at, he did not so espouse the way of conformity, as to take up such a hatred and abhorrence of the persons of the puritans, or of their party, as to cry out against them, as a company of hypocrites, factious villains, and a party not to be suffered, but rather to be doomed to rods and axes, to be pursued with the severest punishments, as one did, who came from that party, viz. Dr. Samuel Parker in his Ecclesiastical Polity. But our Doctor having known many of them himself to have been honest and sincere in the main, and at the bottom, though misled, and held under almost invincible prejudices, he had a tender respect, and a great compassion for them; and therefore thought they were rather to be instructed with meekness, and reduced by gentle and fair methods to a good opinion of this church, and the orders and constitutions of it, than to be continually pelted with sharp reflections from the pulpit, or rigorously dealt with by the execution of penal laws. And therefore I remember it was the counsel he gave myself in the year 1661, not to be sharp upon that party in sermons or other discourses, nor to cry up the Liturgy or ceremonies; but to preach true Christianity, and to take heed to govern my own conversation well: "for," said he, "good preaching and good living will gain upon people: if a man join these two, they will at length come to like his religion and his way, and so their aversions will in time wear off."

As to himself, he did most eminently practise the advice which he gave me, so doubtless he was the most successful man in his

endeavours this way of all others in this whole church and nation; at least beyond any one man, having been an instrument of reducing great numbers of dissenters, both presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, into the church; and of preserving other dissenters, especially nonconforming ministers, whom he could not so far work upon as wholly to gain them, yet from being troublesome to the church, bringing them to some temper and moderation. Yea, I think I may say moreover with truth, that though some other worthy and excellent persons of the London clergy have had their share in this commendation, yet he, above all the rest, by God's blessing, hath been the chief and prime agent to preserve the greatest part of that vast body of the citizens of London from running into extravagances against the government of our church, upon divers unhappy emergencies and conjunctures, that have happened in the space of thirty years last past; his example and excellent preaching, as well as his more private way of treating with particular persons, having been so influential upon them.

Nor hath his moderation been only beneficial to this church, but hath extended likewise to the reformed churches beyond the seas. For such hath been the height of some of our altitudinarian divines, as that they have not stuck to challenge them as being no churches, for want of episcopal government; as particularly that learned person, Mr. Dodwell, in his book about Schism, and his other book, One Priesthood, one Altar. About which I remember, that having some discourse with our late Archbishop above ten years ago, he told me, that Mr. Dodwell brought his book to himself to peruse, before he put it into the press, and desired him to give him his judgment of it: that he freely told him his dislike of it; and that though it was writ with such great accuracy and close dependance of one proposition upon another, as that it seemed to be little less than demonstration, "so that," saith he, "I can hardly tell you, where it is that you break the chain; yet I am sure, that it is broken somewhere; for such and such particulars are so palpably false, that I wonder you do not feel the absurdity of them; they are so gross, and grate so much upon one's inward sense." And I remember, also, he said, that Mr. Dodwell was run into one extreme as much as Mr. Baxter (against whom Mr. Dodwell's books were wrote) had done into the other; adding, moreover, that they were much alike in their tempers and opinions in one respect, though they were most wide and opposite one to another in their tenets; namely, that both of them loved to abound in

their own sense, and could by no means be brought off their own apprehensions and thoughts, but would have them to be the rule and standard for all other men's.

Notwithstanding this his charity towards dissenters, he was far from inclining towards any of their peculiar opinions or ways, or so much as encouraging them therein: any one that reads his sermons with understanding, may easily discern it. He is sometimes pretty tart in censuring the hypocrisy of some of that party, in exposing their peevishness and faction. And as to their peculiar tenets, he sometimes reproved them, and at other times rescued and cleared the truth from their mistakes. So that no sober or intelligent person can think, that he was partial towards them, though he had a great zeal to remove their prejudices, and to bring them into the communion of this church.

I know, that some of our church formerly have not been able to endure scarcely so much as the word moderation in reference to the constitutions of it: particularly, as to the ceremonies, have condemned both name and thing, and have looked upon all persons that have gone that way with an evil and jealous eye, as the betrayers of the church, as those that destroy its power; "for," say they, "the church's power lies in the appointing of rites and ceremonies for decency, order, and solemnity in Divine worship, so as none of the said ceremonies be evidently contrary to scripture, or in themselves superstitious, or tend to any immorality; and therefore take away its authority in such appointments, and you destroy the church's power, and undermine its government." Such persons have censured this great man upon this account, as no friend to this church, because he declared himself freely as willing to relax in some things, rather than break the peace both of church and state by a too stiff adherence to them, and imposition of them. And I remember, that soon after he had preached and printed a sermon on John xiii. 34, 35, to his countrymen, the natives of Yorkshire, at their feast, in the year 1678, in which, endeavouring to persuade the dissenters to come into the union of this church upon this account, because of the great division that their standing off caused in the bowels of it, at that time when the papists made such great use of our dissensions towards the furthering of their design to destroy the church, root and branch, he said to this purpose: "I am persuaded, that the governors of our church are persons of such great piety and prudence, as that they could be content to yield up some things to the prejudices and

weakness, yea, even some little things to the importunities of those, that are otherwise minded, for peace-sake, if that would do the business," &c. I say, I remember that upon this passage, a doctor, that I was in company with, expressed himself very much dissatisfied with it; saying, what had he to do, being but a private doctor, to undertake this without the consent of his superiors? And since that time, in the convocation, since their Majesties King William and Queen Mary's accession to the crown, the same accusation has been renewed against him, that he was the head of that party, which was for altering the Liturgy in compliance with the nonconformists, to make way for their coming into our communion. And so they looked upon his moderation aforesaid, rather as his vice, than his virtue: for they think the very establishment of the church upon the Reformation was moderate enough, and needs to make no further abatement, unless it were obliged to moderate again and again, and so till the whole constitution be destroyed; for to be sure it can never be moderated so, but some peevish spirits will clamour for further mitigations, till they have brought all to confusion. Hence this great man was looked upon rather as an enemy to the church, than fit to be made a pillar of it. For so I remember I have heard some say, when it was first discoursed, that he was to be made archbishop of Canterbury, "actum est de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ."

But notwithstanding these formidable suggestions against him and his known moderation; yet, as on the one side, it is not probable, that he had any secret design against this church, or that his temper and moderation had any direct tendency towards its destruction, or was of ill influence that way: so on the other side, moderation in churchmen and church-governors must be allowed to be a great virtue, as well as in other Christians. This might be shewed from the example of our Saviour, the Ἀρχιποίμην and Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος of it. His government is compared to the meek and gentle conduct of a shepherd, which imports great moderation: his kingdom is typified in the peaceable kingdom of Solomon, which was predicted and deciphered Psal. lxxii. He came to ease the church of those heavy burdens which Moses had laid upon it: to remove the ceremonial law, and moderate the rigour even of the moral law itself, and turn it into the royal law of liberty. He proposed himself as a pattern of great gentleness and condescension to ecclesiastical governors, Matt. xx. 25, 26, &c. Now, what was this but practising and teaching moderation, and recommending it

to all his ministers and ambassadors? And this pattern of his was followed by his apostles, every one of them singly; and even when they were met in council, their decrees savoured wholly of moderation, and tended to preserve peace and unity in the church. "It seemed good unto us," say they, "being assembled together with one accord: it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things," &c. Acts xv. 25.; which were but few, and necessary for the peace of the church at that time: so that if we consider these great and undoubted patterns, it appears, that moderation, gentleness, indulgence, and great condescension, are very considerable virtues in churchmen.

Especially if we add the pattern of St. Paul, next to that of our Saviour, the greatest; who proposes his own example to that purpose; "Even as I," says he, "please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved," 1 Cor. x. 33; and again at large, 1 Cor. ix. 19—22. And especially it is observable, how he suffered himself to be persuaded to a compliance with the advice of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, Acts xxi. to purify himself after the Jewish manner; and how great a zeal he had for his countrymen, the Jews, of whom he bare record, that they had a zeal of God, though not according to knowledge. How desirous he was to have brought them within the church and to the faith of Christ; and therefore had a mighty tenderness for them. And can it be a fault in our Archbishop, if, having been bred amongst puritans, as his adversaries object, and make his crime; if he, I say, had such a great concern for those of that way, as having known doubtless many of them, that he believed were honestly and uprightly minded at the bottom, though carried away by a mistaken zeal? What if he had strained a little with the furthest towards gaining them into the church? should any condemn him for this? Would they not after that rate censure even St. Paul himself?

I could easily add many things more in defence of this great man's moderation; but I will add no more than this, that I believe his successor, the now most worthy Archbishop, will be found to walk much in the same way, and to tread in the same steps, as well as other excellent bishops and worthy presbyters of this church, who yet intend not the least to subvert it, or to weaken ecclesiastical authority.

I have done with his character; and shall only add something

further concerning his preaching, and then conclude with application to myself, which was my principal end in writing these memoirs.

He was deservedly esteemed one of the best, if not rather absolutely the very best preacher of this age; especially considering how frequent and constant his employment was that way; his sermons being full of good sense, judicious, solid, close, and very intelligible; his language masculine, but not bombast; his notions for the most part very clear, lying even to the understandings of attentive hearers. Those that were duly qualified heard him with delight; for they thought they knew the things before, and yet they were not obvious to common invention. Some have called him a rational preacher, as indeed he was in the best sense. He understood human nature, and natural divinity, and true morality very well, and therefore there was something in the hearts and consciences of men not debauched, that moved them to give assent and consent to what he spoke, as being agreeable and connatural, as I may say, to the common reason and faculties of mankind, to that νόμος ἔγγραπτος, that law of God written and engraven upon man's heart: and there is no teaching like that of enabling them to teach themselves. His composures were no jargon or cant, did not consist of phrases or forms of words suited to any sect or party of men, or that had little real matter in them. It was one thing that he disliked in the nonconformists, that they used divers distinctive phrases and expressions, that seemed to have some sublime meaning, when, if searched to the bottom, they were scarce sense, or however might be better expressed in more plain and intelligible words; as when they taught men to *roll upon Christ*, and *act faith*,* and the like; the plain sense of which is, to trust in him and believe in him.

He was a practical preacher. His discourses generally aimed either to excite in men an awful sense of God, and to enkindle devotion towards him, or to stir up to a holy, religious, and virtuous conversation; which certainly is the great end of Christian religion, above all other religions that are or ever were in the world. He seldom preached controversies, except those between us and the church of Rome; which, indeed, he did purposely, when he saw there was an absolute necessity for it, by reason of the danger of popery getting the upper hand and prevailing either

* This was a favourite expression of many of the old puritans, founded probably on the marginal translation of Psalm xxii. 8. and xxxvii. 5.

by fraud, or by being forcibly thrust upon the nation. And when he did treat on these points, he did it to purpose, giving the Romish tenets each of them a killing blow before he left them. And as for practical subjects, I believe there were few remarkable texts of Scripture, either of the Old or New Testament, or however few heads of practical divinity, but he handled them at one time or other in the course of his preaching. And for this reason, some would call him a moral preacher, as a diminution to him, as if he preached moral virtue rather than grace: but this is but a calumny upon him. He did not, indeed, treat upon the inexplicable and ineffable operations of grace, as some have taken upon them to do, but with what good effect I cannot tell. They might have good intentions, I do not deny: but the effect has been to teach men to dispute, rather than to live; if not worse, namely, to possess men's minds with a kind of semi-enthusiasm, and putting them upon inquiry after marks of election in themselves, which when they think they have discovered, they have grown something too proud and conceited of themselves, and despised others that they thought had them not, and have too much neglected the duties of a good life, especially of love, and charity, and justice; it being observable, that such have been generally antinomians, thinking themselves freed from the strict obligation to moral duties. As for this our great preacher, I dare say, that he magnified Divine grace, and taught men to pray and labour for, and make use of those assistances thereof, which God offers to them, and will bestow upon those that heartily and sincerely do so.

But then also he knew that Christians are under indispensable obligations to lead good lives in all respects, both towards God, men, and themselves. To which purpose, I remember a notion he told me now above thirty years ago, viz. that Christianity, as to the practical part of it, was nothing else but the religion of nature, or pure morality, save only praying and making all our addresses to God in the name and through the mediation of our Saviour, and the use of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and, said he, "want of understanding and practising according to this principle, hath broken the peace of Christendom, and it can never be restored till this principle and notion obtain again." And if this notion be true, as I believe any capable and considering person, that weighs the precepts of the gospel, will think it is, the antinomians must both unchristian and unman themselves, while they look upon themselves as disobliged from

strict morality. So that one may see, how ill requited he was by the nonconformists for all his kindness and moderation towards them, while they affixed such oblique reflections upon him.

But how generally and universally his preaching was esteemed, appeared by those crowds of auditors that attended it, and especially of the clergy, at his lectures at St. Lawrence; and many that heard him on Sunday at Lincoln's Inn, went joyfully to St. Lawrence on Tuesday, hoping they might hear the same sermon again. The audience generally stood or sat, with the greatest attention, and even waited upon his discourses, hanging upon his lips. One should hardly see a wandering eye among them; and when his sermons were ended, they went away with satisfied minds, and glad hearts, and cheerful countenances.

In his expositions of scripture, he principally followed Grotius, of whom I have heard him say, that his Annotations upon the Four Evangelists especially, were worth their weight in gold. He had a great dexterity in expounding scripture by scripture; for, like Apollos, he was a man mighty in the Scriptures. The Bible was his treasury, from whence he fetched not only the matter and strength of his sermons, but even his rhetoric and way of convincing and persuading, as accounting the word of God quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing into the souls, searching into the hearts, and criticising upon the consciences and most inward thoughts of men: and yet he was none of those that criticised upon the words and phrases of scripture, or studied to force any far-fetched interpretations upon them. His paraphrases or sensing any passages were always very genuine, and tending to render them intelligible.

The method of his sermons was generally apt and easy, very well fitted both to the understandings and memories of intelligent hearers; and, in handling the several heads, his endeavour was to make all things clear, to bring truth into open light; and his arguments of persuasion were strong and nervous, and tended to gain the affections by the understanding; and those that heard him with attention, must either be persuaded to become good, or else they must do violence to their best faculties, and notoriously act contrary to their own reason. So that if, under God, his word did not save them, yet it would be sure to judge them, and leave them without excuse. Thus, as St. Paul, he did in his preaching "commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

Such a wise, such an able workman, did this great preacher approve himself to be, and one that needed not to be ashamed. And I am persuaded, that by God's great blessing upon his labours, he was an instrument of doing as much good in his station and generation, as any one of his contemporaries in the sacred function whatsoever. He made no ostentation of his learning, though it is well known it was very considerable. He did not preach Christ or his gospel out of envy. He did not expose other men or parties: he sought not glory of men, but devoted himself entirely to glorify and serve God with his spirit, in the gospel of his Son. His great design was to make men wisely religious, and every way virtuous and good; to have their conversations honest, and to keep good consciences void of offence, both towards God and towards men. As, indeed, one of his main arguments to persuade men to be good, was the testimony of a good conscience, and the inward peace that arises from it.

Thus I have endeavoured to offer at giving a character of his temper and life, and also of his way and manner of preaching; which yet I know how very short and defective it is. I myself could have added a great deal more, very much from my own knowledge and observation, though, as I said before, I have so very seldom seen or conversed with him since I was under his tuition, that I am not one of the most competent for the task; but I hope the public will have a full account of him from some worthy hand that knew him intimately, and conversed long with him, and that hath been capable of making closer observations, and can better decipher him than I: and if such a thing be done, I am persuaded it would be a very worthy work; would do right to his memory, and propose an excellent pattern to all of his function in this and future ages.

I do not believe this great man to have been absolutely perfect, or wholly devoid of all faults and blemishes; nor certainly did he ever think so of himself; for he had this virtue to embellish and grace all his other virtues and perfections, namely, to be very humble in his whole deportment. He had nothing of pride or fastidiousness, no not so much as in his spirit, so far as ever appeared to me in my strictest observation of him. He did not boast or magnify himself, or lift up himself above his brethren. He was very contrite before God; a mourner in secret for his own and other's sins. He was meek and lowly of heart. I will but say only this one thing more; that upon a very serious review

upon all that I have known by myself, or heard from others, that were worthy, ingenuous, and credible persons, concerning either his temper, or conversation, or management of affairs, or any way in reference to his function, I never saw or heard from such persons as before, of any false step he made, any thing that argued him insincere, any thing that was scandalous, or of ill report; but, on the contrary, very laudable and imitable. What secret defects he might have, was known to God and himself: and I believe he could say with St. Paul, "I know nothing by myself (nothing inconsistent with that uprightness, that is attainable by man in this life, yet am I not hereby justified."

I have heard, indeed, that this great man hath been libelled and rallied, and, I think, I once saw at London, some ten years ago or upward, some sorry insinuations against him in print to that purpose; most of which were false in my own knowledge. But this I will say concerning this matter, that certainly they, who either publicly defamed him, or more secretly slandered him, and spoke evil of him, or detracted from his worth, either they never knew him, but only gratified their own and others spite and malice against him; or if they did know him, they only betrayed a more devilish nature, and persecuted him with hatred, because he was so good. But, as the reverend Dean of St. Paul's tells, that he having bundled up all the libels against him, and writ upon the outside, "I pray God forgive the authors of them—I do;" so I wish the same, and grant them repentance, that they may be forgiven.

I should have given some description of the very form and lineaments of his body; the habitation, where his sweet and good mind dwelt for near 65 years. His countenance was fair and very amiable; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous; all which were the index of his excellent soul and spirit. His hair brown and bushy; he was moderately tall; very slender and sparing in his youth; his constitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat, when grown in age, which increased more and more as long as he lived; but yet was neither a burden to himself, nor in the least unseemly to others. The vigour of his mind, and perspicacity of his understanding, continued to his last seizure, and his knowledge and remembrance to his death, as I have been told: which said seizure indeed was very sudden, and soon proceeded to make an end of his life; though I believe it was no surprise to himself, being habitually prepared for death; a life, which had been so beneficial to the church, and to

this nation. And had God been pleased to have prolonged it, as also that of our late gracious Queen, who soon followed after him, as she had much reverenced and valued him, we might have expected to have seen and experienced greater public benefits by their conjunction and further concurrence for the establishing of the church, and reformation of the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, and of procuring a greater union and charity among us. However, their endeavours would not have been wanting, which, considering their high wisdom and gracious good tempers, joined with their authority, one might have been almost assured would have proved successful. But God's will is done, and we must all acquiesce in it without murmuring or gainsaying, though we cannot but closely reflect upon and lament our great sins, that rendered the nation unworthy of the longer enjoyment of such invaluable blessings. Only we have reason to hope the mercies of God are not come utterly to an end towards us, in that he hath by his gracious Providence, and the great wisdom of our King and the late excellent Queen, raised up such a worthy person to succeed him in the primacy; one indeed fit to follow him, as having much of the same temper and spirit in him; and I am persuaded, will not pull down what his predecessor had in his heart to have builded up. And so likewise praised be God, who hath supported and comforted the heart of our gracious King, under that almost insupportable stroke of losing his consort, the joint partner of his throne, and most weighty burthen of government. And may the hand of the Almighty hold him fast, and his arm strengthen him, and make him as a polished shaft in his quiver, and grant that his heart may not fail nor be discouraged, until, under God, he shall have planted righteousness and peace in the earth, in these and other nations of Europe, now confederate with him.

And now I conclude these memoirs of this great and most worthy person, with a short application to myself. He was always an example to me in his life, though my weakness, low understanding, and abilities, did not make me capable of coming near such a pattern in any tolerable measure or degree. The esteem, the honour, the reverence, and love I had for him, made me constantly to remember him, to pray for him, and praise God, that he was pleased to dispose me under such a worthy tutor; and it hath been matter of sorrow and regret to me, that I too little valued such a blessing whilst I enjoyed it; that I did not make the proficiency, which I might have done under his tuition, whilst I had his example before

my eyes, and might have learnt more by him and from him. But this is but too common a fault, that we do not prize nor improve such blessings, as we ought, whilst they are present with us. But for many years I may truly say, that I have most affectionately loved him, and have thought many times, that I could hardly live if he were dead; though as to temporal matters, saving his good word or the like, I never received any favour from him. I confess I have sometimes requested him to remember my son, which he was pleased to say he would in due time, though it seems he lived not to have opportunity to do it. But I pass that, and do not at all think it any unkind neglect of him or myself; nor doth his omission in this respect in any degree lessen my esteem of his memory. But I say truly that, which hath been my inward sense, that I after a sort lived in him: he was, under God, in my own thoughts, my crown and my joy, my guard, my sweet ornament; as indeed I cannot think I am so wise, or so well fortified, now he is gone.

But since he is gone, and, I doubt not, to be exceeding happy with God and Christ; and seeing that he hath left such a precious memory and example to survive him now he is dead, I ought much more to remember him, and propose the pattern of his temper and life to my own imitation, as that, which next to that of my Saviour and his blessed apostles, I hope will most sensibly affect me. Let me labour to imitate his great wisdom, his blameless and unspotted life; his humility, his meekness, his sweetness of temper, his obligingness, and readiness to do good; his excellent preaching, so far as I am able; his constancy to good principles; his moderation and candour; his looseness from the love of the world, and earthly riches; his unwearied diligence in preaching, and that from such principles, by such rules, and to such ends, as he did.

To conclude, though I have but a short time to live, yet God grant me, for the short remainder of my life, that he of his mercy and patience shall afford me, hereafter to make some improvement of these memorials, which I have now set down concerning him; that so I may attain to be one, though the very meanest, of that numerous and blessed company, where his spirit now is, through the merits of my dearest Lord and Saviour. Amen.

NUMBER II.

Miscellaneous Remarks on the Sermons of ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON. *By* JOHN JORTIN, M. A. *and Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East.*

VOL. I. SERMON 35. Edit. fol.

This sermon hath been attacked by cavillers at home and abroad, and defended by Le Clerc in the Bibliotheque Choisie.

VOL. I. SERMON 36.

"The poet feigns of Achilles, that by some charm or gift of the gods he was invulnerable, except in the heel, &c. The wise poet instructing us," &c.

This is a small slip in our excellent author; for the poet κατ' ἐξοχὴν is Homer, who hath said nothing concerning this fable of Achilles.

VOL. I. SERMON 43, &c.

Tillotson printed these sermons On the Divinity of Christ, to vindicate himself from the charge of Socinianism, that is, from an accusation entirely groundless. I have been told, that Crellius, a Socinian, and a descendant from the more celebrated Crellius, who used, when he came over hither, to visit the Archbishop, and to converse with him, justified him on this head, and declared, that Tillotson had often disputed with him, in a friendly way, upon the subject of the Trinity, and that he was the best reasoner, and had the most to say for himself, of any adversary he had ever encountered.

But then Tillotson hath made some concessions concerning the Socinians, which never were, and never will be forgiven him, and hath broken an ancient and fundamental rule of theological controversy,—Allow not an adversary to have either common sense or common honesty.

Here is the obnoxious passage:

"And yet to do right to the writers on that side, I must own that generally they are a pattern of the fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion; without heat and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries.—They generally argue matters with that temper and gravity, and with that freedom from passion and transport, which becomes a serious and weighty argument: and for the most part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary

guard and caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet with smartness and subtilty enough; with a very gentle heat and few hard words: virtues to be praised, wherever they are found, yea even in an enemy, and very worthy our imitation. In a word, they are the strongest managers of a weak cause, and which is ill-founded at the bottom, that perhaps ever yet meddled with controversy; insomuch that some of the protestants, and the generality of the popish writers, and even of the Jesuits themselves, who pretend to all the reason and subtilty in the world, are in comparison of them but mere scolds and bunglers. Upon the whole matter, they have but this one great defect, that they want a good cause and truth on their side; which, if they had, they have reason, and wit, and temper enough to defend it."

The thought, which is contained in the last sentence, resembles that of Quintilian, who says of Seneca: "Multa probanda in ea, multa etiam admiranda sunt; eligere modo curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset! digna enim fuit illa natura, quæ meliora vellet, quæ quod voluit effecit." And again, "Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio."

Now, by way of contrast, behold the character of the same persons, from the masterly and impartial hand of South.

"The Socinians are impious blasphemers, whose infamous pedigree runs back *(from wretch to wretch)* in a direct line to the devil himself; and who are fitter to be crushed by the civil magistrate, as destructive to government and society, than to be confuted as merely heretics in religion."

Such is the true agonistic style, or intolerant spirit; such the courage of a champion, who challenges his adversary, and then calls upon the constable to come and help him.

> ————An tibi Mavors
> Ventosa in lingua, pedibusque fugacibus istis
> Semper erit?

Vol. II. Sermon 16.

"Josephus flattered Vespasian so far, as to make him believe, that he was the man (the Messias); and thereupon persuaded him to destroy the line of David, out of which the tradition was, that the Messias should spring," &c.

Josephus did not give this wicked advice. Our prelate perhaps had in his thoughts what Eusebius relates of Domitian, that he or-

dered all the family of David to be destroyed, and that some of our Lord's kinsmen were seized, and brought before him, and upon examination dismissed, as poor and inconsiderable persons. Afterwards, in the time of Trajan, some heretics laid an information against Symeon the son of Cleopas, as being of the family of David, and also a Christian; and for this Symeon was put to death, when he was a hundred and twenty years old. But these very accusers of the martyr were also convicted of belonging to the royal tribe, diligent search being made at that time for such persons.

Eusebius had these accounts from Hegesippus, and Hegesippus is far enough from infallibility. So the stories rest upon his authority, such as it is. Euseb. E. H. III. 19, 20. 32.

VOL. II. SERMON 70.

"We must be serious in our instructions—to which nothing can be more contrary than to trifle with the word of God, and to speak of the weightiest matters in the world, the great and everlasting concernments of the soul of men, in so slight and indecent a manner, as is not only beneath the gravity of the pulpit, but even of a well-regulated stage. Can any thing be more unsuitable, than to hear a minister of God from this solemn place to break jests upon sin, and to quibble with the vices of the age? This is to shoot without a bullet, as if we had no mind to do execution, but only to make men smile at the mention of their faults: this is so nauseous a folly, and of so pernicious consequence to religion, that hardly any thing too severe can be said of it."

This was undoubtedly designed as a censure upon South, for saying, that "there is no fluxing a soul out of its immortality," and a hundred things of the same kind.

VOL. II. SERMON 93.

"The being of God is so comfortable, so convenient, so necessary to the felicity of mankind, that (as Tully admirably says) 'Dii immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur;' if God were not a necessary being of himself, he might almost seem to be made on purpose for the use and benefit of men."

A learned person, who shall not be named, observed, that Tillotson, taking the verb "fabricati" in a passive sense, grossly misunderstood Cicero, whose words are these: "Sunt autem alii philosophi, et hi quidem magni atque nobiles, qui Deorum mente atque ratione omnem mundum administrari atque regi censeant: neque verò id solum, sed etiam ab iisdem vitæ hominum consuli et provi-

deri: nam et fruges, et reliqua quæ terra pariat, et tempestates, ac temporum varietates, cœlique mutationes, quibus omnia quæ terra gignat, maturata pubescant a Dîs immortalibus tribui humano generi putant; multaque, quæ dicentur in his libris, colligunt; quæ talia sunt, ut *ea ipsa*, Dî immortales, ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur." De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

It is certain, that these words, as they stand in Cicero, will not admit the sense, which Tillotson gives them: but Tillotson, in all probability, cited by memory, and without consulting the context, and put that meaning upon the words, which seemed the most reasonable and elegant; and perhaps his good sense led him here to the true interpretation. Boherius, a learned French critic, understood this passage just as Tillotson had taken it; and, to accommodate the sentence to this purpose, he proposed a slight emendation, which is approved by Davies. Clariss. Boherius *legit*,—ut *et ipsi* Dii immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur. "Audax sane videtur loquendi ratio; sed sensus facit, ut ei conjecturæ faveam." DAVIES.

In favour of this conjecture and interpretation, it may be observed, that, according to the pagan theology, the "Dii immortales" are the sun, the moon, the stars, the planets, and the earth, who furnish us with the comforts and conveniences of life; and so highly beneficial are they to mortal men, that, although they be gods, yet they seem almost to have been made for the use of man.

If you ask, by whom were the gods made? the pagan answer is, by Nature, or by the Supreme God, who drew them out of chaos, and who is called by Ovid, "mundi fabricator."

Hanc Deus et melior litem Natura diremit.

And then,

Astra tenent cœleste solum, formæque Deorum,
OVID, Met. i.

Illa Deos omnes, longum enumerare, creavit,
Says OVID, Fast. ix. speaking of Venus.

Cicero advanced somewhat that was bold, and therefore qualified it with a "pene videantur."

VOL. III. SERMON 140.

"I know not what some men may find in themselves; but I must freely acknowledge, that I could never yet attain to that bold and

hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, for this reason, because it was impossible. So that I am very far from being of his mind, that wanted, not only more difficulties, but even impossibilities in the Christian religion, to exercise his faith upon."

The person whom Tillotson had in view, was the author of Religio Medici. But by impossibilities, Sir Thomas Brown, as well as Tertullian, meant *seeming* not *real* impossibilities; and what he says should be looked upon as a "verbum ardens," a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with Tertullian, in which however he had little chance to come off superior. Both of them were lively and ingenious, but the African had a warmer complexion than the Briton.

"Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith.—I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, 'Certum est, quia impossibile est.'—I am thankful, that I lived not in the days of miracles," &c. Rel. Medici.

Tillotson judging, that the papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this, in protestant writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it.

Sir Kenelm Digby, a Roman catholic, who criticises several things in the Religio Medici, yet gives his loud approbation to these pious sallies: "I am extremely pleased with him, when he saith, there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith," &c. Extremely pleased, without question, and full of hopes, that this young author might at last unreason himself into implicit belief, and go over to a church, which would feed his hungry faith with a sufficient quantity of impossibilities.

"Tendimus in Latium!"

Amongst many things, which may be mentioned in favour of Tillotson, this should not be forgotten, that of those, who have passed their judgments upon him, there never was a son of absurdity, who did not dislike, or a sensible reader, who did not approve, his writings. If a person were to offer himself a candidate for honest reputation, what could he wish and hope more, than to share Tillotson's fate, and to find the same censurers and the same defenders? Yet it hath been said of this great and good man, that his spirits were in some degree broken, and his health impaired, by the insults and calumnies of petulant adversaries. If it be true, it is

a melancholy instance of human infirmity, and a proof, that a little Stoicism and Socratism is a desirable possession. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was easy to him, assisted as he was by goodnature and by religion: but to despise their attacks, was a task rather too hard for his gentle temper and sensibility; so that, in this respect, and under these disadvantages, he was not a match for men, who could neither blush nor feel.

"A man's good name," says he, "is a tender thing, and a wound there sinks deep into the spirit even of a wise and good man: and the more innocent any man is in this kind, the more sensible he is of this hard usage; because he never treats others so, nor is he conscious to himself that he hath deserved it." Serm. XLII.

Every thing, they say, hath two handles. When Socrates was under sentence of death, Xantippe took on bitterly, and refusing comfort, cried, "O my husband! what grieves me most is, that these wicked judges should treat an innocent man thus, and condemn thee unjustly, and for nothing at all." "Wife," said he, "why should that grieve thee? hadst thou rather then that they had condemned me justly."

PREFACE.

I SHALL neither trouble the Reader nor myself, with any apology for the publishing of these Sermons: for, if they be in any measure truly serviceable to the end for which they are designed, to establish men in the principles of religion, and to recommend to them the practice of it with any considerable advantage, I do not see what apology is necessary; and, if they be not so, I am sure none can be sufficient. However, if there need any, the common heads of excuse in these cases are very well known, and I hope I have an equal right to them with other men.

I shall choose rather in this Preface to give a short account of the following discourses, and as briefly as I can to vindicate a single passage in the *first* of them from the exceptions of a gentleman, who hath been pleased to honour it so far as to write a whole book against it.

The design of these discourses* is fourfold.

First, To shew the unreasonableness of atheism, and of scoffing at religion; which I am sorry is so necessary to be done in this age. This I have endeavoured in the two first of these discourses.

Secondly, To recommend religion to men from the great and manifold advantages which it brings both to public society and to particular persons. And this is the argument of the third and fourth.

Thirdly, To represent the excellency, more particularly, of the Christian religion; and to vindicate the practice of it, from the suspicion of those grievous troubles and difficulties which many imagine it to be attended withal. And this is the subject of the fifth and sixth.

Fourthly, To persuade men to the practice of this holy religion, from the great obligation which the profession of Christianity lays

* This Preface refers to the eight Sermons, which were first published in an octavo volume by his Grace.

upon men to that purpose; and, more particularly, from the glorious rewards of another life; which is the design of the two next discourses.

Having given this short account of the following discourses, I crave leave of the reader to detain him a little longer, whilst I vindicate a passage in the first of these sermons, from the assaults of a whole book purposely writ against it. The title of the book is, Faith vindicated from the Possibility of Falsehood. The author, Mr. J. S. the famous author of Sure Footing. He hath indeed in this last book of his, to my great amazement, quitted that glorious title. Not that I dare assume to myself to have put him out of conceit with it, by having convinced him of the fantasticalness of it: no; I despair to convince that man of any thing, who, after so fair an admonition, does still persist to maintain,* that first and self-evident principles not only may, but† are fit to be demonstrated; and that those ridiculous identical propositions, that faith is faith, and a rule is a rule, are first principles in this controversy of the rule of faith, without which nothing can be solidly concluded either about rule or faith. But there was another reason for his quitting of that title, and a prudent one indeed: he had forsaken the defence of Sure Footing, and then it became convenient to lay aside that title, for fear of putting people any more in mind of that book.

* Letter of Thanks, p. 24, &c.

† Ibid. p. 11.

I expected, indeed, after his Letter of Thanks, in which he‡ tells us, he intended to throw aside the rubbish of my book, that in his answer he might the better lay open the fabric of my discourse, and have nothing there to do, but to speak to solid points; I say, after this, I expected a full answer to the solid points (as he is pleased to call them) of my book; and that, (according to his excellent method of removing the rubbish, in order to the pulling down of a building) the fabric of my book would long since have been demolished and laid even with the ground. But, especially, when, in the conclusion of that most civil and obliging Letter, he threatened never to leave following on his blow, till he had either brought Dr. Still and me to lay principles that would bear the test, or it was made evident to all the world that we had none; I began (as I had reason) to be in a terrible fear of him, and to look upon myself as a dead man. And, indeed, who can think himself so considerable as not to dread this mighty man of demonstration, this prince of controvertists, this great lord and professor of first principles? But I perceive that great minds are

‡ P. 14.

merciful, and do sometimes content themselves to threaten when they could destroy.

For, instead of returning a full answer to my book, he (according to their new mode of confuting books) manfully falls a nibbling at one single passage in it, wherein he makes me to say (for I say no such thing) that the rule of Christian faith, and consequently faith itself, is possible to be false. Nay, in his* Letter of Thanks, he says it is an avowed position, in that place, that faith is possible to be false; and, to give the more countenance to this calumny, he chargeth the same position (in equivalent terms) of the possible falsehood of faith, and that, as to the chiefest and most fundamental point, the tenet of a Deity, upon the forementioned sermon. But because he knew in his conscience, that I had avowed no such position, he durst not cite the words either of my book or sermon, lest the reader should have discovered the notorious falsehood and groundlessness of this calumny; nay, he durst not so much as refer to any particular place in my sermon, where such a passage might be found. And yet this is the man that has the face to charge others with false citations; to which charge, before I have done, I shall say something, which (what effect soever it may have upon him) would make any other man sufficiently ashamed.

* P. 13.

But yet I must acknowledge, that in this position, which he fastens upon me, he honours me with excellent company, my Lord Faulkland, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Stillingfleet; persons of that admirable strength and clearness in their writings, that Mr. S. when he reflects upon his own style and way of reasoning, may blush to acknowledge that ever he has read them. And, as to this position which he charges them withal, I do not know (nor have the least reason upon Mr. S's word to believe) any such thing is maintained by them.

As for myself, whom I am now only concerned to vindicate, I shall set down the two passages, to which I suppose he refers.

In my sermon, I endeavour (among other things) to shew the unreasonableness of atheism upon this account: because it requires more evidence for things than they are capable of. To make this good, I discourse thus: "Aristotle hath long since observed, how unreasonable it is to expect the same kind of proof for every thing, which we have for some things. Mathematical things being of an abstracted nature, are only capable of clear demonstration. But conclusions in natural philosophy are to be proved by a sufficient induction of experiments: things of a moral nature by moral argu-

ments, and matters of fact by credible testimony. And, though none of these be strict demonstration, yet have we an undoubted assurance of them, when they are proved by the best arguments that the nature and quality of the thing will bear. None can demonstrate to me, that there is such an island in America as Jamaica; yet, upon the testimony of credible persons, and authors who have written of it, I am as free from all doubt concerning it, as from doubting of the clearest mathematical demonstration. So that this is to be entertained as a firm principle, by all those who pretend to be certain of any thing at all, that when any thing is proved by as good arguments as that thing is capable of, and we have as great assurance that it is, as we could possibly have supposing it were, we ought not in reason to make any doubt of the existence of that thing. Now to apply this to the present case. The being of a God is not mathematically demonstrable, nor can it be expected it should, because only mathematical matters admit of this kind of evidence. Nor can it be proved immediately by sense, because God being supposed to be a pure spirit, cannot be the object of any corporeal sense. But yet we have as great assurance that there is a God, as the nature of the thing to be proved is capable of, and as we could in reason expect to have, supposing that he were."

Upon this passage it must be (if any thing in the sermon) that Mr. S. chargeth this position (in equivalent terms) of the possible falsehood of faith, and that, as to the chiefest and most fundamental point—the tenet of a Deity. And now I appeal to the reader's eyes and judgment, whether the sum of what I have said be not this: That though the existence of God be not capable of that strict kind of demonstration which mathematical matters are, yet that we have an undoubted assurance of it. One would think that no man could be so ridiculous as from hence to infer, that I believe it possible, notwithstanding this assurance, that there should be no God. For however in many other cases an undoubted assurance that a thing is, may not exclude all suspicion of a possibility of its being otherwise; yet in this tenet of a Deity it most certainly does. Because whoever is assured that there is a God, is assured there is a Being, whose existence is and always was necessary, and consequently is assured, that it is impossible he should not be, and involves in it a contradiction. So that my discourse is so far from being equivalent to the position he mentions, that it is a perfect contradiction to it. And he might with as

much truth have affirmed, that I had expressly and in so many words said, that there is no God.

The other passage is in my book, concerning the Rule of Faith. I was discoursing that no man can shew by any necessary argument, that it is naturally impossible that all the relations concerning America should be false. But yet (say I) I suppose that notwithstanding this, no man in his wits is now possessed with so incredible a folly, as to doubt whether there be such a place. The case is the very same as to the certainty of an ancient book, and of the sense of plain expressions: we have no demonstration for these things, and we expect none; because we know the things are not capable of it. We are not infallibly certain that any book is so ancient as it pretends to be; or that it was written by him whose name it bears; or that this is the sense of such and such passages in it: it is possible all this may be otherwise; but we are very well assured that it is not, nor hath any prudent man any just cause to make the least doubt of it; for a bare possibility that a thing may be, or not be, is no just cause of doubting whether a thing be or not. It is possible all the people in France may die this night, but I hope the possibility of this doth not incline any man in the least to think it will be so. It is possible that the sun may not rise tomorrow morning; yet, for all this, I suppose that no man hath the least doubt but that it will.

To avoid the cavils of this impertinent man, I have transcribed the whole page to which he refers. And now where is this avowed position of the possible falsehood of faith? All that I say is this, that we are not infallible either in judging of the antiquity of a book, or of the sense of it; by which I mean (as any man of sense and ingenuity would easily perceive I do) that we cannot demonstrate these things so, as to shew, that the contrary necessarily involves a contradiction; but yet that we may have a firm assurance concerning these matters, so as not to make the least doubt of them.

And is this to avow the possible falsehood of faith? And yet this position Mr. S. charges upon these words; how justly I shall now examine.

Either by faith Mr. S. means the doctrine revealed by God, and then the meaning of the position must be, that what God says, is possible to be false; which is so absurd a position as can hardly enter into any man's mind; and yet Mr. S. hath the modesty all along in his book to insinuate, that in the forecited passage I say as much as this comes to.

Or else Mr. S. means by faith, the assent which we give to doctrines as revealed by God; and then his sense of infallibility must be either, that whoever assents to any thing as revealed by God, cannot be deceived, upon supposition that it is so revealed; or else absolutely, that whoever assents to any thing as revealed by God, cannot be deceived. Now, although I do not, in the passage forecited, speak one syllable concerning doctrines revealed by God, yet I affirm (and so will any man else) that an assent to any doctrine as revealed by God, if it be revealed by him, is impossible to be false. But this is only an infallibility upon supposition, which amounts to no more than this, that if a thing be true, it is impossible to be false. And yet the principal design of Mr. S's book is to prove this, which I believe no man in the world was ever so senseless as to deny. But if he mean absolutely, that whoever assents to any doctrine, as revealed by God, cannot be deceived; that is, that no man can be mistaken about matters of faith (as he must mean, if he pretend to have any adversary, and do not fight only with his own shadow); this I confess is a very comfortable assertion, but I am much afraid it is not true.

Or else, lastly, by faith he understands the means and motives of faith: and then the plain state of the controversy between us is this—Whether it be necessary to a Christian belief, to be infallibly secured of the means whereby the Christian doctrine is conveyed to us, and of the firmness of the motives upon which our belief of it is grounded. This indeed is something to the purpose; for though in the passage before-cited, I say not one word concerning the motives of our belief of the Christian doctrine, yet my discourse there was intended to be applied to the means whereby the knowledge of this doctrine is conveyed to us. However, I am contented to join issue with Mr. S. upon both these points.

1. That it is not necessary to the true nature of faith, that the motives upon which any man believes the Christian doctrine should be absolutely conclusive, and impossible to be false. That it is necessary, Mr. S. several times affirms in his book; but how unreasonably appears from certain and daily experience. Very many Christians (such as St. Austin speaks of, as are saved not by the quickness of their understandings, but the simplicity of their belief) do believe the Christian doctrine upon incompetent grounds; and their belief is true, though the argument upon which they ground it be not (as Mr. S. says) absolutely conclusive of the thing: and he that thus believes the Christian doctrine, if he adhere to it,

and live accordingly, shall undoubtedly be saved; and yet I hope Mr. S. will not say that any man shall be saved without true faith. I might add, that in this assertion Mr. S. is plainly contradicted by those of his own church.

For they generally grant that general councils, though they be infallible in their definitions and conclusions, yet are not always so in their arguments and reasonings about them. And the Guide of controversies expressly says, that it is not necessary that a Divine faith should always have an external rationally infallible ground or motive thereto (whether church authority, or any other) on his part, that so believes. Here is a man of their own church avowing this position, that faith is possible to be false. I desire Mr. S. who is the very rule of controversy, to do justice upon this false Guide.

I must acknowledge, that Mr. S. attempts to prove this assertion, and that by a very pleasant and surprising argument, which is this: "The profound mysteries of faith (he tells us*) must needs seem to some (viz. those who have no light but their pure natural reason,† as he said before) impossible to be true; which therefore nothing but a motive of its own nature seemingly impossible to be false can conquer, so as to make them conceit them really true." What Mr. S. here means by a motive of its own nature seeming impossible to be false, I cannot divine, unless he means a real seeming impossibility. But be that as it will, does Mr. S. in good earnest believe, that a motive of its own nature seeming impossible to be false, is sufficient to convince any man, that has and uses the light of natural reason, of the truth of a thing which must needs seem to him impossible to be true? In my opinion these two seeming impossibilities are so equally matched, that it must needs be a drawn battle between them. Suppose the thing to be believed be transubstantiation; this indeed is a very profound mystery, and is (to speak in Mr. S's phrase) "of its own nature so seemingly impossible," that I know no argument in the world strong enough to cope with it. And I challenge Mr. S. to instance in any motive of faith which is, both to our understanding and our senses, more plainly impossible to be false than their doctrine of transubstantiation is evidently impossible to be true. And, if he cannot, how can he reasonably expect that any man in the world should believe it?

* Faith vind. p. 90.

† P. 89.

2. That it is not necessary to the true nature of faith, that we should be infallibly secured of the means whereby the Christian

doctrine is conveyed to us; particularly of the antiquity and authority of the books of scripture, and that the expressions in it cannot possibly bear any other sense: and these are the very things I instance in, in the passage so often mentioned. And to these Mr. S. ought to have spoken, if he intended to have confuted that passage. But he was resolved not to speak distinctly, knowing his best play to be in the dark, and that all his safety lay in the confusion and obscurity of his talk.

Now that to have an infallible security in these particulars is not necessary to the true nature of faith, is evident upon these two accounts; because faith may be without this infallible security, and because in the particulars mentioned it is impossible to be had.

1. Because faith may be without this infallible security. He that is so assured of the antiquity and authority of the books of scripture, and of the sense of those texts wherein the doctrines of Christianity are plainly delivered, as to see no just cause to doubt thereof, may really assent to those doctrines, though we have no infallible security; and an assent so grounded I affirm to have the true nature of faith: for what degree of assent, and what security of the means, which convey to us the knowledge of Christianity, are necessary to the true nature of faith, is to be estimated from the end of faith, which is the salvation of men's souls. And whoever is so assured of the authority and sense of scripture, as to believe the doctrine of it, and to live accordingly, shall be saved. And surely such a belief as will save a man, hath the true nature of faith, though it be not infallible. And if God hath sufficiently provided for the salvation of men of all capacities, it is no such reflection upon the goodness and wisdom of Providence, as Mr. S. imagines, that he hath not taken care that every man's faith should arrive to the degree of infallibility; nor does our blessed Saviour, for not having made this provision, "deserve to be esteemed by all the world not a wise lawgiver, but a mere ignoramus and impostor," as* one of his fellow controvertists speaks with reverence.

* Labyrinthus Cantuarien. is, p. 77.

Besides, this assertion that infallibility is necessary to the true nature of that assent, which we call faith, is plainly false upon another account also; because faith admits of degrees. But infallibility has none. The scripture speaks of a weak and strong faith, and of the increase of faith; but I never heard of a weak and strong infallibility. Infallibility is the highest perfection of the knowing faculty, and consequently the firmest degree of assent

upon the firmest grounds, and which are known to be so. But will Mr. S. say, that the highest degree of assent admits of degrees, and is capable of increase? Infallibility is an absolute impossibility of being deceived: now I desire Mr. S. to shew me the degrees of absolute impossibility; and, if he could do that, and consequently there might be degrees of infallibility, yet I cannot believe that Mr. S. would think fit to call any degrees of infallibility a weak faith or assent.

2. Because an infallible security, in the particulars mentioned, is impossible to be had: I mean in an ordinary way, and without miracle and particular revelation; because the nature of the thing is incapable of it. The utmost security we have of the antiquity of any book is human testimony, and all human testimony is fallible for this plain reason—because all men are fallible. And though Mr. S. in defence of his beloved tradition, is pleased to say that human testimony in some cases is infallible, yet I think no man before him was ever so hardy as to maintain that the testimony of fallible men is infallible. I grant it to be in many cases certain; that is, such as a considerate man may prudently rely and proceed upon, and hath no just cause to doubt of; and such as none but an obstinate man or a fool can deny. And that thus the learned men of his own church define *certainty*, Mr. S. (if he would but vouchsafe to read such books) might have learned from* Melchior Canus, who speaking of the firmness of human testimony in some cases, (which yet he did not believe to be infallible) denies it thus: "Those things are certain among men, which cannot be denied without obstinacy and folly." I know Mr. S. is pleased to say, that certainty and infallibility are all one. And he is the first man that I know of that ever said it. And yet perhaps somebody may have been before him in it, for I remember Tully says, "That there is nothing so foolish but some philosopher or other has said it." I am sure Mr. S's own philosopher, Mr. Wh. contradicts him in this, most clearly, in his preface to Rushworth's Dialogues; where explicating the term, moral certainty, he tells us, that "some understood by it such a certainty as makes the cause always work the same effect, though it take not away the absolute possibility of working other ways;" and this presently after he tells us, "ought absolutely to be reckoned in the degree of true certainty, and the authors considered as mistaken in undervaluing it." So that according to Mr. White true certainty may consist with a pos-

* De loc. Theolog. lib. ii. c. 4. Certa apud homines ea sunt, quæ negari sine pervicacia, et stultitia, non possunt.

sibility of the contrary, and consequently Mr. S. is mistaken in thinking certainty and infallibility to be all one. Nay I do not find any two of them agreeing among themselves, about the notions of infallibility and certainty. Mr. Wh. says, that what some call moral certainty, is true certainty, though it do not take away a possibility of the contrary. Mr. S. asserts the direct contrary. That moral certainty is not only probability, because it does not take away the possibility of the contrary. The Guide in controversies,* differs from them both, and makes moral, certain, and infallible, all one. I desire that they would agree these matters among themselves before they quarrel with us about them.

* P. 135.

In brief, then, though moral certainty be sometimes taken for a high degree of probability, which can only produce a doubtful assent; yet it is also frequently used for a firm and undoubted assent to a thing upon such grounds as are fit fully to satisfy a prudent man: and in this sense I have always used this term. But now infallibility is an absolute security of the understanding from all possibility of mistake in what it believes; and there are but two ways for the understanding to be thus secured: either by the perfection of its own nature, or by supernatural assistance. But no human understanding being absolutely secured from possibility of mistake by the perfection of its own nature, (which I think all mankind, except Mr. S. have hitherto granted) it follows, that no man can be infallible in any thing, but by supernatural assistance. Nor did ever the church of Rome pretend to infallibility upon any other account, as every one knows that hath been conversant in the writings of their learned men. And Mr. Cressy, in his* answer to Dr. Pierce, hath not the face to contend for any other infallibility but this, that "the immutable God can actually preserve a mutable creature from actual mutation:" but I can by no means agree with him in what immediately follows, concerning the omniscience of a creature; that God, "who is absolutely omniscient, can teach a rational creature all truths necessary or expedient to be known; so that though a man may have much ignorance, yet he may be in a sort omniscient within a determinate sphere." Omniscient within a determinate sphere, is an infinite within a finite sphere; and is not that a very pretty sort of knowing all things, which may consist with an ignorance of many things? Of all the controvertists I have met with, (except Mr. S.) Mr. Cressy is the happiest at these smart and ingenious kind of reasonings.

* P. 88, 89.

As to the other particular of the sense of books, it is likewise plainly impossible that any thing should be delivered in such clear and certain words as are absolutely incapable of any other sense; and yet, notwithstanding this, the meaning of them may be so plain, as that any unprejudiced and reasonable man may certainly understand them. How many definitions and axioms, &c. are there in Euclid, in the sense of which men are universally agreed, and think themselves undoubtedly certain of it? and yet the words, in which they are expressed, may possibly bear another sense. The same may be said concerning the doctrines and precepts of the Holy Scriptures; and one great reason why men do not so generally agree in the sense of these as of the other, is because the interests, and lusts, and passions of men are more concerned in the one than the other. But whatever uncertainty there may be in the sense of any texts of scripture, oral tradition is so far from affording us any help in this case, that it is a thousand times more uncertain and less to be trusted to; especially if we may take that to be the traditionary sense of texts of scripture, which we meet within the decretals of their popes, and the acts of some of their councils; than which never was any thing in the whole world more absurd and ridiculous: and whence may we expect to have the infallible traditional sense of scripture, if not from the heads and representatives of their church?

This may abundantly suffice for the vindication of that passage which Mr. S. makes such a rude clamour about, as if I had therein denied the truth and certainty of all religion; but durst never trust the reader with a view of those words of mine upon which he pretended to ground his calumny. But the world understands well enough, that all this was but a shift of Mr. S's for the satisfaction of his own party, and a pitiful art to avoid the vindication of Sure Footing, a task he had no mind to undertake.

And yet the main design of this book, which he calls Faith Vindicated, &c. is to prove that which I do not believe any man living ever denied, viz. That what is true is not possible to be false: which, though it be one of the plainest truths in the world, yet he proves it so foolishly, as would make any man (if it were not evident of itself) to doubt of it. He proves it from logic and nature, and metaphysics, and ethics, &c. I wonder he did not do it likewise from arithmetic, and geometry, the principles whereof, he* tells us are concerned in demonstrating the certainty of oral tradition. He might also have pro-

* Sure Footing, p. 93.

ceeded to astrology, and palmistry, and chemistry, and have shewn how each of these lend their assistance to the evidencing of this truth. For that could not have been more ridiculous, than his* argument from the nature of subject and predicate, and copula in faith-propositions; because, forsooth, whoever affirms any proposition of faith to be true, affirms it impossible to be false. Very true. But would any man argue, that what is true is impossible to be false, from the nature of subject, predicate and copula? for be the proposition true or false, these are of the same nature in both, that is, they are subject, predicate and copula.

* Faith Vindic. p. 6, 7, &c.

But that the reader may have a taste of his clear style and way of reasoning, I shall for his satisfaction transcribe Mr. S's whole argument from the nature of the predicate. His words are these:

P. 9. 12. "Our argument from the copula, is particularly strengthened from the nature of the predicate in the propositions we speak of; I mean in such speeches as affirm such and such points of faith to be true. For true means existent in propositions which express only the *an est* of a thing, as most points of faith do; which speak abstractedly, and tell not wherein the nature of the subject it speaks of consists, or the *quid est*. So that most of the propositions Christians are bound to profess are fully expressed thus: A trinity is existent, &c. and the like may be said of those points which belong to a thing or action past; as creation was, &c. for existent is the predicate in these two, only affixed to another difference of time; and it is equally impossible such subjects should neither have been, nor not have been, or have been, and have not been at once, as it is that a thing should neither be or not be at present, or both be and not be at present. Regarding then stedfastly the nature of our predicate [existent] we shall find that it expresses the utmost actuality of a thing; and as taken in the posture it bears in those propositions, that actually exercised, that is, the utmost actuality in its most actual state; that is, as absolutely excluding all manner or least degree of potentiality, and consequently all possibility of being otherwise; which is radically destroyed when all potentiality is taken away. This discourse holding, which in right to truth I shall not fear to affirm (unconcerned in the drollery of any opposer) to be more than mathematically demonstrative, it follows inevitably, that whosoever is bound to profess a trinity, incarnation, &c. is or was existent, is also bound to profess that it is

impossible they should be not existent, or, which is all one, that it is impossible these points of faith should be false.

"The same appears out of the nature of distinction or division applied to our predicate existent, as found in these propositions; for could that predicate bear a pertinent distinction expressing this and the other respect, or thus and thus, it might possibly be according to one of these respects, or thus considered, and not be according to another, that is another way considered: but this evasion is here impossible; for either those distinguishing notions must be more potential or antecedent to the notion of existent, and then they neither reach existent, nor supervene to it as its determinations or actuations, which differences ought to do; nor can any notion be more actual or determinative in the line of substance or being, than existent is; and, so fit to distinguish it in that line; nor, lastly, can any determination in the line of accidents serve the turn; for those suppose existence already put, and so the whole truth of the proposition entire and complete antecedently to them. It is impossible therefore, that what is thus affirmed to be true, should in any regard be affirmed possible to be false: the impossibility of distinguishing the predicate pertinently excluding here all possibility of divers respects.

The same is demonstrated from the impossibility of distinguishing the subjects of those faith propositions; for those subjects being propositions themselves, and accepted for truths, as is supposed, they are incapable of distinction, as shall be particularly shewn hereafter. Besides, those subjects being points of faith, and so standing in the abstract, that is, not descending to subsuming respects, even in that regard too they are freed from all pertinent distinguishableness.

"The same is demonstrated from the nature of truth, which consists in an indivisible; whence there is nothing of truth had, how great soever the conceived approaches towards it may be, till all may-not-bees, or potentiality to be otherwise, be utterly excluded by the actuality of *is* or existence; which put or discovered, the light of truth breaks forth, and the dim twilights of may-not-bees vanish and disappear."

I have here, reader, presented thee with a discourse which (if we may believe Mr. S.) is more than mathematically demonstrative. A rare sight indeed! And is not this a pleasant man, and of good assurance? I now find it true, which he* says elsewhere, that principles are of an inflexible genius,

* Letter of Thanks, p. 1.

and self-confident too, and that they love naturally to express themselves with an assuredness. But certainly the sacred names of principles and demonstration were never so profaned by any man before. Might not any one write a book of such jargon, and call it demonstration? And would it not equally serve to prove or confute? If he intended this stuff for the satisfaction of the people, he might as well have wrote in the Coptic or Sclavonian language: yet I cannot deny, but that it is very suitable to the principles of the Roman church; for why should not their science as well as their service be in an unknown tongue? that the one may be as fit to improve their knowledge, as the other is to raise their devotion. But if he designed this for the learned, nothing could be more improper; for they are far less apt to admire nonsense than the common people: and I desire that no man (how learned soever he may think himself) would be over-confident, that this is sense. I do verily believe, that neither Harphius nor Rusbrochius, nor the profound mother Juliana, have any thing in their writings more senseless and obscure than this discourse of his, which he affirms to be more than mathematically demonstrative. So that if I were worthy to advise Mr. S. he should give over this pretence to science; for, whatever he may think, his talent certainly does not lie that way; but seems to be as well made for a mystical divine, as any man I know. And methinks his superiors should be sensible of this, and employ him to write about deiform fund of the soul, the super-essential life, the method of self-annihilation, and the passive unions of nothing with nothing: these are profound subjects, and he hath a style peculiarly fitted for them. For even in this parcel of stuff, which I have now cited, there are five or six words, such as may-not-bees, potentiality, actuality, actuation, determinative, supervene and subsume, which (if they were but well mingled and discreetly ordered, and brought in now and then with a that is, to explain one another) would half set up a man in that way, and enable him to write as mystical a discourse as a man could wish. But enough of this. And I have trespassed not a little upon my own disposition in saying thus much, though out of a just indignation at confident nonsense.

It is time now to draw towards a conclusion of this debate. I shall only leave with the reader a few observations concerning this book of and Mr. S's, his doctrine of infallibility.

First, That the main drift of his book being to prove that what is true is impossible to be false, he opposes nobody that I know of in this matter.

Secondly, That in asserting infallibility to be necessary to the true nature of faith, he hath the generality of his own church his professed adversaries. The church of Rome never arrogated to herself any other infallibility but what she pretends to be founded upon Christ's promise to secure his church always from error by a supernatural assistance, which is widely different from Mr. S's rational infallibility of oral tradition. Mr. S. surely cannot be ignorant, that the divines of their church (till Mr. Rushworth and Mr. White found out this new way) did generally resolve faith into the infallible testimony of the church, and the infallibility of their church into our Saviour's promise; and the evidence of the true church into the marks of the church, or the motives of credibility, which motives are acknowledged to be only prudential, and not demonstrative.* Bellarmine says, that the marks of the church do not make it evidently true, which is the true church, but only "evidently credible; and that (says he) is said to be evidently credible which is neither seen in itself, nor in its principles; but yet hath so many and so weighty testimonies, that every wise man hath reason to believe it." Becanus† to the same purpose, "That the motives of credibility are only the foundation of a prudent, but not of an infallible assent." I know very well that Mr. Knott and some others would fain persuade us, that an assent in some sort infallible may be built upon prudential motives, which is as absurd as it is possible; but if it were true, yet Mr. S. would not accept of this sort of infallibility; nothing less would serve him than demonstrative motives, and such as are absolutely conclusive of the thing. Stapleton (as Mr. Cressy tells us) expressly says, that such an infallible certitude of means is not now necessary to the pastors of the church, as was necessary to the apostles, who were the first founders of the church. So that, according to these authors, there may be true faith where neither the means nor the motives of it are such as to raise our assent to the degree of infallibility. And this is as much to the full as any protestant (that I know of) ever said. Nay, even his friends of the tradition, Mr. Rushworth, Mr. White, and Mr. Cressy, are guilty of the same damnable and fundamental error, as Mr. S. calls it.‡ For they grant less assurance than that which is infallible, to be sufficient to Christian faith, and that we are justly condemned if we refuse to believe upon such evidence as does ordinarily satisfy prudent men in human affairs. And particularly, Mr. Wh. makes a question whe-

* L. 4. de Eccles.

† Sum. tom. 2. partic. de fide, c. 1.

‡ Letter to his Answerer, p. 5.

ther human nature be capable of infallibility; as I have shewn at large by clear and full testimonies out of each of these authors in the answer to Sure Footing.* Of which testimonies though Mr. S. had not thought fit to take the least notice throughout his book; yet I cannot but think it a reasonable request, to desire him to vindicate the divines of his own church (especially those of his own way) from these things, before he charge us any farther with them.

* P. 120, &c.

Thirdly, That Mr. S. by this principle, that infallibility is necessary to the true nature of faith, makes every true believer infallible in matters of faith; which is such a paradox, as I doubt whether ever it entered into any other man's mind. But if it be true, what need then of any infallibility in pope or council? And if this infallibility be grounded upon the nature of oral tradition, what need of supernatural assistance. I doubt Mr. S. would be loth to preach this doctrine at Rome. I have often heard, that there is an old testy gentleman lives there, who would take it very ill that any one besides himself should pretend to be infallible.

Fourthly, That Mr. S. by his principles does plainly exclude from salvation the generality of his own church; that is, all that do not believe upon his grounds, and this is the necessary consequence of his reasoning in a late treatise, intitled, "The Method to arrive at Satisfaction in Religion," the principles whereof are these: "That the church is a congregation of faithful; the faithful are those who have true faith; that till it be known which is the true faith, it cannot be known which is the true church; that which is the true faith can only be known by the true rule of faith, which is oral tradition, and that the infallibility of this rule is evident to common sense." And from these principles he concludes,* "that those who follow not this rule, and so are out of this church, can have no true faith; and that though many of the points to which they assent are true; yet their assent is not faith: for faith, (speaking of Christian faith) is an assent which cannot possibly be false." So that the foundation of this method is the self-evident infallibility of oral tradition, which hath been sufficiently considered in the answer to Sure Footing, which yet remains unanswered. That which I am now concerned to take notice of, is the consequence of this method, which does at one blow excommunicate and unchristian the far greatest part of his own church. For if all who do not follow oral tradition as their only rule of faith are out of the church, and can have no true faith, then all who follow the council

* Sec. 21.

of Trent, are *ipso facto* no Christians. For nothing is plainer, than that that council did not make oral tradition the sole rule of their faith, nor rely upon it as such; which hath been proved at large in the Answer to Sure Footing.

But why is Mr. S. so zealous in this master of infallibility? there is a plain reason for it. He finds that confidence, how weakly soever it be grounded, hath some effect upon the common and ignorant people; who is apt to think there is something more than ordinary in a swaggering man, that talks of nothing but principles and demonstration. And so we see it in some other professions. There are a sort of people very well known, who find that the most effectual way to cheat the people is always to pretend to infallible cures.

I have now done with this infallibility. But I must not forget this Letter of Thanks. I shall wholly pass by the passion and ill-language of it, which a man may plainly see to have proceeded from a galled and uneasy mind. He would fain put on some pleasantness, but was not able to conceal his vexation. Nor shall I insist upon his palpable shuffling about the explication of the terms, rule and faith. He was convinced that he had explained them very untowardly, and therefore would gladly come off by saying that he did not intend explication, but only to predicate or affirm something of them. And yet the whole design of the first page of Sure Footing, is to shew the necessity of beginning with the meaning of those words which express the thing under debate. And this method he tells us will apply to his present purpose, and will examine well what is meant by those words which express the thing he was to discuss, namely, the rule of faith. Now if we examine well what is meant by words, be not to go about to explain them, I must confess myself to be in a great error. Of the same kind is his apology for his testimonies, as if they were† not intended against the protestants; whereas his book was writ against the protestants: and when he came to his testimonies, he‡ declares the design of them to be, to second by authority what he had before established by reason. So that if the rational part of his book was intended against the protestants, and the testimonies were designed to second it, I cannot understand why he should say one was less intended against them than the other. But it seems he is so conscious of the weakness of those testimonies, that he does not think them fit to satisfy any but those who believe him already.

P. 7.

† P. 105.

‡ Sure Footing, 126.

As to his charge of false citations, it is but the common artifice of the Roman controvertists when they have nothing else to say. However, that the world may see how little he is to be trusted, I shall instance in two or three, about which he makes the loudest clamour, and leave it to the reader to judge by these, of his sincerity in the rest.

He says, I notoriously abuse the preface to Rushworth's Dialogues, in citing the author of it to say, "that* such certainty as makes the cause always to work the same effect, though it take not away the absolute possibility of working otherwise, ought absolutely to be reckoned in the degree of true certainty;" whereas (says Mr. S.) he only tells us there, (p. 7.) "that by moral certainty some understood such a certainty as makes the cause," &c. To vindicate myself in this, I shall only set the author's words before the reader's eyes. They are these: "This term, moral certainty, every one explicated not alike; but some understood by it such a certainty as makes the cause always work the same effect, though it take not away the absolute possibility of working otherwise. Others call that a moral certainty which proceeds from, &c. A third explication of this word is, &c. Of these three the first ought absolutely to be reckoned in the degree of true certainty, and the author's considered as mistaken in undervaluing it." Is this only to tell us that by moral certainty some understood, &c. Does not the prefacer also expressly affirm, that what these some understood by moral certainty, ought absolutely to be reckoned in the degree of true certainty; which is the very thing I cited him for.

* P. 62.

Another heavy charge is, that, "according to my usual sincerity," I quote Rushworth's nephew to say, that a few good words are to be cast in concerning scripture (for the satisfaction of indifferent men who have brought up this verbal and apparent respect of the Scriptures); "whereas (says Mr. S.) in the place you cite, he only expresses, it would be a satisfaction to indifferent men to see the positions one would induce them to embrace, maintainable by scripture." Does he only say so? let the reader judge. The words in Mr. Rushworth are these: "Yet this I must tell ye, that it were a great satisfaction for indifferent men, that have been brought up in this verbal and apparent respect of the Scripture, to see that the positions you would induce them unto, can be and are maintained by Scripture, and that they are grounded therein." Certainly one would think that either this man has no eyes or no forehead.

But the great outcry of all is, that I abuse his first demonstra-

tion by virtue of a direct falsification both of his words and sense, by cogging in the word [all] making his principle run thus: that the greatest hopes and fears are applied to the minds of [all] Christians. This indeed I make to be his principle, grounded upon his words, which I had cited a little before; and they are these, 1st, That Christian doctrine was at first unanimously settled by the apostles in the hearts of the faithful, dispersed in great multitudes over several parts of the world. 2dly, That this doctrine was firmly believed by all those faithful to be the way to heaven, and the contradicting or deserting of it to be the way to damnation: so that the greatest hopes and fears imaginable were, by engaging the Divine authority, strongly applied to the minds of the first believers, &c. Now if these first believers, to whom he says these hopes and fears were strongly applied, be all those faithful he spoke of before, which were dispersed over several parts of the world, (as the tenor of his words plainly shews) what are these less than all the Christians of that age? And he himself a little after tells us, there is the same reason of the following ages. So that I make his principle run no otherwise than he himself had laid it. And if it contradict what he says elsewhere, it is no new or strange thing. I wonder more at his confidence in charging such falsifications upon me as every man's eyes will presently confute him in. Methinks, though a man had all science, and all principles, yet it might not be amiss to have some conscience.

I shall only speak a few words to the two solid points (as I may call them) of his Letter, and I have done.

I had charged him that he makes traditious certainty a first and self evident principle, and yet that he goes about to demonstrate it, which I said was impossible to be done, and if it could be done was needless. To avoid this inconvenience which he found himself sorely pressed withal, he distinguishes between speculative and practical self-evidence, and says, that things which are practically self-evident may be demonstrated, but those that are speculatively so, cannot. But he must not think to shelter himself from so palpable an absurdity by this impertinent distinction. For let things be evident how they will, speculatively or practically, it is plain that if they be principles evident of themselves, they need nothing to evidence them; and, if they be first principles, there can be nothing to make them more evident, because there is nothing before them to demonstrate them by. Now if Mr. S. had in truth believed that the certainty of tradition was a first and self-evident prin-

ciple, he should by all means have let alone, for it was in a very good condition to shift for itself; but his blind way of demonstration is enough to cast a mist about the clearest truth in the world. But perhaps by the self-evident certainty of tradition, Mr. S. only means that it is evident to himself; for I dare say it is so to nobody else. And if that be his meaning, he did well enough to endeavour to demonstrate it: it was no more than needed.

The other point is about his first principles, such as these: a rule is a rule, faith is faith, &c. which he says * must principle all that can be solidly concluded either about rule or faith. Of these he hath mighty store, and blessed himself in it, as the rich man in the gospel did in his full barns: Soul, take thine ease, thou hast principles laid up for many years; and, out of an excess of goodnature, pities my case, who did undertake to write a discourse about the ground of faith, without so much as one principle to bless myself with. But the mischief is, that after all this stir about them they are good for nothing, and of the very same stamp with that frivolous one Aristotle speaks of, "if a thing be, it is," which he rejects as a vain and ridiculous proposition. Such as Mr. S's first principles, surfeited of too much truth (as an ingenious writer of his own church says of them) and ready to burst with self-evidence, and yet by ten thousand of them a man shall not be able to advance one step in knowledge, because they produce no conclusion but themselves; whereas it is of the nature of principles to yield a conclusion different from themselves. And, to convince Mr. S. fully of the foolery of these principles, I will try what can be done with them, either in a categorical or hypothetical syllogism; *e. g.* a rule is a rule, tradition is a rule; *ergo.* tradition is a rule. Again, If a rule be a rule, then a rule is a rule; but a rule is a rule, *ergo.* How is any man the wiser for all this? But it may be Mr. S. can make better work with them, and manage them more dexterously, so as to principle any thing that can be solidly concluded in any controversy.

* P. 11.

Analyt. Poster. l. 1.

And now I hope at last to have given Mr. S. full satisfaction; since he has brought me to the very point he desired, to acknowledge that I have no principles. And, indeed, if there be no other to be had but such as these, I do declare to all the world, that I neither have any principles, nor will have any.

CONTENTS.

SERMON I.

THE WISDOM OF BEING RELIGIOUS.

And unto man he said, Behold! the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.—JOB xxviii. 8.

IN this chapter Job discourseth of the secrets of nature, and the unsearchable perfections of the works of God; and the result of his discourse is this: That a perfect knowledge of nature is no where to be found but in the Author of it; no less wisdom and understanding than that which made the world, and contrived this vast and regular frame of nature, can thoroughly understand the philosophy of it, and comprehend so vast a design: but yet there is a knowledge which is very proper to man, and lies level to human understanding; and that is, the knowledge of our Creator, and of the duty we owe to him; the wisdom of pleasing God, by doing what he commands, and avoiding what he forbids: this knowledge and wisdom may be attained by man, and is sufficient to make him happy. "And unto man he said, Behold! the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding."

These words consist of two propositions, which are not distinct in sense, but one and the same thing variously expressed: for wisdom and understanding are synonymous words here; and, though sometimes

they have different notions, yet in the poetical books of Scripture they are most frequently used as words equivalent, and do both of them indifferently signify either a speculative knowledge of things, or a practical skill about them, according to the exigency of the matter or thing spoken of. And so, likewise, the fear of the Lord, and departure from evil, are phrases of a very near sense and like importance; and, therefore, we find them several times put together in Scripture: "Fear the Lord, and depart from evil:" "By the fear of the Lord men depart from evil." So that they differ only as cause and effect, which by a metonymy, usual in all sorts of authors, are frequently put one for another.

Prov. iii. 7. xvi. 6.

Now, to "fear the Lord," and to "depart from evil," are phrases which the Scripture useth in a very great latitude, to express to us the sum of religion, and the whole of our duty. And, because the large usage of these phrases is to be the foundation of my following discourse, I shall, for the farther clearing of this matter, endeavour to shew these two things:

I. That it is very usual in the language of Scripture to express the *whole* of religion by these and such like phrases.

II. The particular fitness of these two phrases to describe religion.

I. It is very usual, in the language of Scripture, to express the *whole* of religion by some eminent principle or part of religion.

The great principles of religion are knowledge, faith, remembrance, love, and fear; by all which the Scripture useth to express the whole duty of man.

In the Old Testament, by the knowledge, remembrance, and fear of God. Religion is called, "The knowledge of the holy." And wicked men are described to be such as "know not God." So, likewise, by the fear of the Lord, frequently in this book of Job, and in the Psalms and Proverbs. And, "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another." And the fear of God is expressly said to be the sum of religion: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole of man:" and, on the contrary, the wicked are described to be such as "have not the fear of God before their eyes." And so, likewise, by the remembrance of God: "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth;" that is, enter upon a religious course betimes: and, on the contrary, the character of the wicked is, that they forget God; "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." In the New Testament, religion is usually expressed by faith in God and Christ, and the love of them. Hence it is, that true Christians are so frequently called believers, and wicked and ungodly men unbelievers. And that good men are described to be such as love God. "All things shall work together for good to them that love God;" and such as "love the Lord Jesus Christ." Now the reason why these are put for the *whole* of religion, is, because the belief, and knowledge, and remembrance, and love, and fear of God, are such powerful principles, and have so great an influence upon men to make them religious, that where any one

Prov. xxx. 3. Jer. x. 25.

Mal. iii. 16.

Eccl. xii. 13.

Psal. xxxvi. 1. Eccl. xii. 1.

Psal. ix. 17.

Rom. viii. 28. Eph. vi. 24.

of these really is, all the rest, together with the true and genuine effects of them, are supposed to be.

And so, likewise, the sum of all religion is often expressed by some eminent part of it; which will explain the second phrase here in the text—departing from evil. The worship of God is an eminent part of religion; and prayer, which is often in Scripture expressed by seeking God, and calling upon his name, is a chief part of religious worship. Hence religion is described by seeking God; "He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him:" and by calling upon his name; "Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved:" and so, by coming to God, and by departing from evil. In this fallen state of man, religion begins with repentance and conversion, the two opposite terms of which are, God and sin: hence it is that religion is described sometimes by coming to God; "He that cometh to God, must believe that he is;" that is, no man can be religious, unless he believe there is a God: sometimes by departing from sin; "And he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey;" that is, such was the bad state of those times of which the prophet there complains, that no man could be religious but he was in danger of being persecuted.

Heb. xi. 6. Acts ii. 21.

Heb. xi. 6.

Isa. lix. 15.

II. For the fitness of these two phrases to describe religion.

1. For the first, "the fear of the Lord." The fitness of this phrase will appear, if we consider how great an influence the fear of God hath upon men to make them religious. Fear is a passion that is most deeply rooted in our natures, and flows immediately from that principle of self-preservation, which God

hath planted in every man. Every one desires his own preservation and happiness, and therefore hath a natural dread and horror of every thing that can destroy his being, or endanger his happiness. And the greatest danger is from the greatest power, and that is Omnipotency. So that the fear of God is an inward acknowledgment of a holy and just Being, which is armed with an almighty and irresistible power; God having hid, in every man's conscience, a secret awe and dread of his infinite power and eternal justice. Now fear being so intimate to our natures, it is the strongest bond of laws, and the great security of our duty.

There are two bridles or restraints which God hath put upon human nature—shame and fear. Shame is the weaker, and hath place only in those in whom there are some remainders of virtue. Fear is the stronger, and works upon all who love themselves and desire their own preservation. Therefore, in this degenerate state of mankind, fear is that passion which hath the greatest power over us, and by which God and his laws take the surest hold of us: our desire, and love, and hope, are not so apt to be wrought upon by the representation of virtue, and the promises of reward and happiness, as our fear is from the apprehensions of Divine displeasure. For though we have lost, in a great measure, the love and relish of true happiness, yet we still retain a quick sense of pain and misery; so that fear relies upon a natural love of ourselves, and is complicated with a necessary desire of our own preservation. And therefore religion usually makes its first entrance into us by this passion; hence, perhaps, it is, that Solomon, more than once, calls the fear of the Lord the "beginning of wisdom."

2. As for the second phrase, "departing from evil," the fitness of it to express the whole duty of man will appear, if we consider the necessary connexion that is between the negative and the positive part of our duty. He that is careful to avoid all sin, will sincerely endeavour to perform his duty. For the soul of man is an active principle, and will be employed one way or other, it will be doing something; if a man abstain from evil, he will do good. Now, there being such a straight connexion between these, the whole of our duty may be expressed by either of them; but most fitly by departing from evil, because that is the first part of our duty. Religion begins in the forsaking of sin;

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitiâ caruisse ——

Virtue begins in the forsaking of vice; and the first part of wisdom is not to be a fool. And, therefore, the Scripture which mentions these parts of our duty, doth constantly put departing from evil first; "Depart from evil, and do good." "Cease to do evil—learn to do well." "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord." We are first to "put off the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitful lusts," and then to "be renewed in the spirit of our minds, and to put on the new man," &c. Let him "eschew evil, and do good." To all which I may add this farther consideration, that the law of God, contained in the ten commandments, consisting mostly of prohibitions—(thou shalt not do such or such a

Ps. xxxiv. 14. & xxxvii. 27. Isa. i. 16, 17, & lv. 7.

Eph. iv. 22, 23, 24.

1 Pet. iii. 11.

thing): our observance of it is most fitly expressed by departing from evil, which yet includes obedience likewise to the positive precepts implied in those prohibitions.

Having thus explained the words, I come now to consider the proposition contained in them, which is this:

That religion is the best knowledge and wisdom.

This I shall endeavour to make good these three ways.

1. By a direct proof of it.

2. By shewing on the contrary the folly and ignorance of irreligion and wickedness.

3. By vindicating religion from those common imputations which seem to charge it with ignorance or imprudence.

I begin with the direct proof of this: and, because religion comprehends two things, the knowledge of the principles of it, and a suitable life and practice (the first of which being speculative, may more properly be called knowledge; and the latter, because it is practical, may be called wisdom, or prudence); therefore, I shall endeavour distinctly to prove these two things:

1. That religion is the best knowledge.

2. That it is the truest wisdom.

1. First, That it is the best knowledge.

The knowledge of religion commends itself to us upon these two accounts.

1. It is the knowledge of those things which are in themselves most excellent.

2. Of those things which are most useful and necessary for us to know.

First, It is the best knowledge, because it is the

knowledge of those things which are in themselves most excellent and desirable to be known; and those are God and our duty. God is the sum and comprehension of all perfection. It is delightful to know the creatures, because there are particular excellences scattered and dispersed among them, which are some shadows of the Divine perfections: but in God all perfections in their highest degree and exaltation meet together, and are united. How much more delightful then must it needs be to fix our minds upon such an object, in which there is nothing but beauty and brightness—what is amiable and what is excellent; what will ravish our affections and raise our wonder—please us, and astonish us at once? And that the finite measure and capacity of our understandings is not able to take in and comprehend the infinite perfections of God; this, indeed, shews the excellency of the object, but doth not altogether take away the delightfulness of the knowledge. For as it is pleasant to the eye to have an endless prospect, so is it some pleasure to a finite understanding to view unlimited excellences, which have no shore or bounds, though it cannot comprehend them. There is a pleasure in admiration, and this is that which properly causeth admiration, when we discover a great deal in an object which we understand to be excellent; and yet we see we know not how much more beyond that, which our understandings cannot fully reach and comprehend.

And as the knowledge of God in his nature and perfections is excellent and desirable, so likewise to know him in those glorious manifestations of himself in the works of creation and providence;

and, above all, in that stupendous work of the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ; which was such a mystery, and so excellent a piece of knowledge, that the angels are said to "desire to pry into it." 1 Pet. i. 12.

And as the knowledge of God is excellent, so likewise of our duty, which is nothing else but virtue and goodness and holiness, which are the image of God, a conformity to the nature and will of God, and an imitation of the Divine excellences and perfections, so far as we are capable: for to know our duty is to know what it is to be like God in goodness and piety, and patience, and clemency; in pardoning injuries, and passing by provocations; in justice and righteousness, in truth and faithfulness; and in a hatred and detestation of the contrary of these: in a word, it is to know what is the good and acceptable will of God, what it is that he loves and delights in, and is pleased withal, and would have us to do in order to our perfection and our happiness. It is deservedly accounted a piece of excellent knowledge to know the laws of the land, and the customs of the country we live in, and the will of the prince we live under: how much more to know the statutes of heaven, and the laws of eternity; those immutable and eternal rules of justice and righteousness: to know the will and pleasure of the great Monarch and universal King of the world, and the customs of that country, where we must live for ever? This made David to admire the law of God at that strange rate, and to advance the knowledge of it above all other knowledge: "I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy commandment is exceeding broad." Ps. cxix. 96.

Secondly, It is the knowledge of those things which are most useful and necessary for us to know. The goodness of every thing is measured by its end and use, and that is the best thing which serves the best end and purpose; and the more necessary any thing is to such an end, the better it is: so that the best knowledge is that which is of greatest use and necessity to us, in order to our great end, which is eternal happiness, and the salvation of our souls. Curious speculations, and the contemplation of things that are impertinent to us, and do not concern us, nor serve to promote our happiness, are but a more specious and ingenious sort of idleness, a more pardonable and creditable kind of ignorance. That man, that doth not know those things which are of use and necessity for him to know, is but an ignorant man, whatever he may know besides. Now, the knowledge of God and of Christ, and of our duty, is of the greatest usefulness and necessity to us, in order to our happiness. It is of absolute necessity that we should know God and Christ, in order to our being happy; "This is life eternal (that is, the only way to it) to know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." It is necessary, also, in order to our happiness, to know our duty; because it is necessary for us to do it, and it is impossible to do it except we know it.

John xvii. 3.

So that whatever other knowledge a man may be endued withal, he is but an ignorant person, who doth not know God, the Author of his being, the preserver and protector of his life, his sovereign, and his judge; the giver of every good and perfect gift—his surest refuge in trouble, his best friend or

worst enemy—the present support of his life, his hopes in death, his future happiness, and his portion for ever: who does not know his relation to God, the duty that he owes him, and the way to please him, who can make him happy or miserable for ever; who doth not know the Lord Jesus Christ, who is "the way, the truth, and the life."

If a man, by a vast and imperious mind, and a heart large as the sand upon the sea-shore (as it is said of Solomon), could command all the knowledge of nature and art, of words and things—could attain to a mastery in all languages, and sound the depths of all arts and sciences, measure the earth and the heaven, and tell the stars, and declare their order and motions—could discourse of the interests of all states, the intrigues of all courts, the reason of all civil laws and constitutions, and give an account of the history of all ages—could speak of trees, "from the cedar-tree, that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springs out of the wall; and of beasts, also, and of fowls, and of creeping things, and of fishes"—and yet should, in the mean time, be destitute of the knowledge of God and Christ, and his duty: all this would be but an impertinent vanity, and a more glittering kind of ignorance; and such a man (like the philosopher, who, whilst he was gazing upon the stars, fell into the ditch) would but *sapienter descendere in infernum*, be undone with all this knowledge, and with a great deal of wisdom go down to hell.

2. Secondly, That to be religious is the truest wisdom, and that likewise upon two accounts.

1. Because it is to be wise for ourselves.

2. It is to be wise as to our main interest and concernment.

1. It is to be wise for ourselves. There is an expression, (Job xx. 21.) "He that is wise is profitable to himself;" and (Prov. ix. 12.) "If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself;" intimating, that wisdom regards a man's own interest and advantage, and that he is not a wise man that doth not take care of himself and his own concernments, according to that of old Ennius, "Nequicquam sapere sapientem, qui sibi ipsi prodesse non quiret,"—that man hath but an empty title of wisdom, and is not really wise, who is not wise for himself. As self-preservation is the first principle of nature, so care of ourselves and our own interest is the first part of wisdom. He that is wise in the affairs and concernments of other men, but careless and negligent of his own, that man may be said to be busy, but he is not wise: he is employed, indeed, but not so as a wise man should be: now this is the wisdom of religion, that it directs a man to a care of his own proper interest and concernment.

2. It is to be wise as to our main interest. Our chief end and highest interest is happiness: and this is happiness, to be freed from all (if it may) however from the greatest evils; and to enjoy (if it may be) all good, however the chiefest. To be happy is not only to be freed from the pains and diseases of the body, but from anxiety and vexation of spirit: not only to enjoy the pleasures of sense, but peace of conscience, and tranquillity of mind. To be happy, is not only to be so for a little while, but as long as may be; and, if it be possible, for ever. Now religion designs our greatest and longest happiness; it

SERMONS,

&c.

aims at a freedom from the greatest evils, and to bring us to the possession and enjoyment of the greatest good. For religion wisely considers that men have immortal spirits, which as they are spirits are capable of a pleasure and happiness distinct from that of our bodies and our senses; and because they are immortal, are capable of an everlasting happiness. Now our souls being the best part of ourselves, and eternity being infinitely the most considerable duration, the greatest wisdom is to secure the interest of our souls and of eternity, though it be with loss and to the prejudice of our temporal and inferior interests. Therefore religion directs us rather to secure inward peace than outward ease, to be more careful to avoid everlasting and intolerable torment than short and "light afflictions which are but for a moment;" to court the favour of God more than the friendship of the world, and not so much to "fear them that can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do," as "him, who, after he hath killed can destroy both body and soul in hell:" in a word, our main interest is to be as happy as we can, and as long as is possible; and if we be cast into such circumstances, that we must be either in part and for a time, or else wholly and always miserable, the best wisdom is to choose the greatest and most lasting happiness, but the least and shortest misery. Upon this account religion prefers those pleasures, which flow from the presence of God for evermore, infinitely before the transitory pleasures of this world, and is much more careful to avoid eternal misery than present sufferings. This is the wisdom of religion, that upon consideration of the whole, and casting up all things together, it does advise and lead us to our best interest.

II. The second way of confirmation shall be by endeavouring to shew the ignorance and folly of irreligion. Now all that are irreligious are so upon one of these two accounts: either, First, Because they do not believe the foundations and principles of religion, as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and future rewards: or else, Secondly, Because though they do in some sort believe these things, yet they live contrary to this their belief; and of this kind are the far greatest part of wicked men. The first sort are guilty of that which we call speculative, the other of practical atheism. I shall endeavour to shew the ignorance and folly of both these.

First, Speculative atheism is unreasonable, and that upon these five accounts. 1. Because it gives no tolerable account of the existence of the world. 2. Nor does it give any reasonable account of the universal consent of mankind in this apprehension, that there is a God. 3. It requires more evidence for things than they are capable of. 4. The atheist pretends to know that which no man can know. 5. Atheism contradicts itself.

I. Because it gives no tolerable account of the existence of the world. One of the greatest difficulties that lies in the atheist's way is, upon his own supposition that there is no God, to give a likely account of the existence of the world. We see this vast frame of the world, and an innumerable multitude of creatures in it, all which we, who believe a God, attribute to him as the author of them. For a Being, supposed of infinite goodness and wisdom and power, is a very likely cause of these things. What more likely to make this vast world, to stretch

forth the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and to form these and all things in them of nothing, than infinite power? What more likely to communicate being, and so many degrees of happiness to so many several sorts of creatures, than infinite goodness? What more likely to contrive this admirable frame of the universe, and all the creatures in it, each of them so perfect in their kind, and all of them so fitted to each other and to the whole, than infinite counsel and wisdom? This seems to be no unreasonable account.

But let us see now what account the atheist gives of these things. If there be no God, there are but these two ways imaginable for the world to be. Either it must be said, that not only the matter but also the frame of this world is eternal; and that, as to the main, things always were as they are, without any first cause of their being; which is the way of the Aristotelian atheist (those I mean, who proceed upon Aristotle's supposition of the eternity of the world, but yet deny it to be from God, which he expressly asserts); or else the matter of the world, being supposed to be eternal and of itself, the original of this vast and beautiful frame must be ascribed merely to chance, and the casual concourse of the parts of matter; which is the way of the Epicurean atheist. But neither of these ways gives a tolerable account of the existence of the world.

1. I shall first consider the hypothesis of those whom, for distinction sake, I call the Aristotelian atheists, which is this: That not only the matter but also the frame of the world is eternal; and that, as to the main, it was always as it is, of itself; and that there hath been from all eternity a succession of men

and other creatures without any first cause of their being.

It seems to be very hard, and if that would do any good might be just matter of complaint, that we are fallen into so profane and sceptical an age, which takes a pleasure and a pride in unravelling almost all the received principles both of religion and reason: so that we are put many times to prove those things, which can hardly be made plainer than they are of themselves. And such almost are these principles, that God is, and that all things were made by him; which by reason of the bold cavils of perverse and unreasonable men we are now-a-days put to defend.

That something is of itself is evident, because we see things are. And the things that we see must either have had some first cause of their being, or have been always and of themselves. One of these two is unavoidable.

So that the controversy between us and this sort of atheists comes to this; which is the more credible opinion, that the world was never made nor had a beginning but always was as it is, and that there hath been from all eternity a succession of men and other creatures without any first cause of their being; or, that there was from all eternity such a being as we conceive God to be, infinite in power, goodness, and wisdom, which made us and all other things? The first of these opinions I shall shew to be altogether incredible, and the latter to have all the credibility and evidence of which a thing of that nature is capable, and such evidence as is sufficient to convince any impartial and considerate man.

Now in comparing the probabilities of things, that we may know on which side the advantage lies,

these two considerations are of great moment—what the arguments are on each side, and what the difficulties. For if there be fair proofs on the one side, and none at all on the other, and if the most pressing difficulties be on that side on which there are no proofs, this is sufficient to render one opinion very credible, and the other altogether incredible.

These two things therefore I shall endeavour to make good, in the matter that is now under our consideration. First, That there are fair proofs on our side, and as convincing as the nature of the thing is capable of; but that there is no pretence of proof on the other. And, Secondly, That the side on which there is no proof is encumbered with the greatest difficulties.

First, That there are fair proofs on our side, and as convincing as the nature of the thing is capable of; but that there is no pretence of proof on the other.

This question, whether the world was created and had a beginning, or not? is a question concerning an ancient matter of fact, which can only be decided these two ways—by testimony and by probabilities of reason. Testimony is the principal argument in a matter of this nature, and if fair probabilities of reason concur with it, this argument hath all the strength it can have: now both these are clearly on the affirmative side of the question, viz. that the world was created, and had a beginning.

1. Testimony; of which there be two kinds—Divine and human.

Divine testimony, as such, is not proper to be used in this cause, considering the occasion of the present debate: for that would be to beg the first and main question now in controversy, which is,

whether there be a God or not? which a testimony from God does suppose, and therefore ought not to be brought for the proof of it. It is true, indeed, that those effects of Divine power, I mean miracles, which will prove a Divine testimony to an infidel, will as well prove the being of a God to an atheist; but when we dispute against those who deny a God, no testimony ought to be presumed to be from God, but must be proved to be so: and whatever argument proves that, will also prove that there is a God.

Human testimonies are of two sorts—universal tradition and written history. Both these are plainly and beyond dispute on our side.

First, There is an universal tradition concerning the beginning of the world, and that it was made by God. And for the evidence of this we have the concurring tradition of the most ancient nations—the Egyptians and Phœnicians;* and of the most barbarous—the Indians; who, as Strabo† tells us, "did in many things agree with the Grecians, particularly in this, that the world did begin, and should have an end, and that God, the maker and governor of it, is present in all parts of it." And Acosta tells us, that at the first discovery of America, the inhabitants of Peru did worship one chief God, under the name or title of the Maker of the Universe: and yet these people had not had any commerce with the other known parts of the world, for God knows how many ages.

* Vide Grot. de verit. Chr. Relig. l. 1.

† Geogr. l. 15.

To which may be added, that the most ancient of the philosophers, and those that were the heads of the chief sects of philosophy, as Thales, Anaxagoras, and Pythagoras, did likewise consent to

this tradition. Particularly concerning Thales, Tully* tells us, that he was the first of all the philosophers "that inquired into these things, and he said that water was the beginning of all things, and that God was that mind (or intelligent principle) which fashioned all things out of water." So likewise Strabo* informs us, that the Brachmans, the chief sect of philosophers among the Indians, agreed with the Grecians in this, "that the world was made of water." Which agrees exactly with Moses's account of the creation, viz. "that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;" which St. Peter expresses thus: "that by the word of God, the heavens and the earth (for so the Hebrews called the world) were of old ἐξ ὕδατος συνεστῶσα constituted or made of water;" not "standing out of the water," as our translation renders it.

* De Nat. Deorum. l. 1.

* Geogr. l. 15.

2 Pet. iii. 5.

Nay Aristotle* himself, who was the great assertor of the eternity of the world, gives this account why the gods were anciently represented by the heathens as swearing by the lake Styx, because water was supposed to be the principle of all things. And this, he tells us, was the most ancient opinion concerning the original of the world; and that the very oldest writers of theology, and those who lived at the greatest distance from his time, were of this mind. And in the book, De Mundo,* it is freely acknowledged to have been an ancient saying, and a general tradition among all men, "that all things are of God, and were made by him." I will conclude this with that full testimony of Maximus Tyrius* to this purpose: "However," says he, "men

* Metaph. l. 1. c. 3.

* Cap. 6.

* Dissertat. i.

may differ in other things, yet they all agree in this law or principle, that there is one God, king and father of all things, &c. This the Greeks say, this the Barbarians; this those that live upon the continent, and those that dwell by the sea; the wise and the unwise."

Secondly, We have likewise a most ancient and credible history of the beginning of the world; I mean the history of Moses, with which no book in the world, in point of antiquity, can contend. I shall not now go about to strengthen my argument, by pleading the Divine authority of this book; for which yet I could offer good evidence, if that were proper to the matter in hand. It is sufficient to my present purpose, that Moses have the ordinary credit of an historian given him, which none in reason can deny him, he being cited by the most ancient of the heathen historians, and the antiquity of his writings never questioned by any of them, as Josephus* assures us.

*L. i. contra Appion.

Now this history of Moses gives us a particular account of the beginning of the world, and of the creation of it by God. Which assertion of his is agreeable to the most ancient writers among the heathen, whether poets or historians. And several of the main parts of Moses's history, as concerning the flood and the first fathers of the several nations of the world, (of which he gives a particular account, Gen. x.) do very well accord with the most ancient accounts of profane history. And I do not know whether any thing ought more to recommend the writings of Moses to a human belief, than the easy and credible account which he gives of the original of the world, and of the first peopling of it.

As to the account of ancient times, both the Egyptian and Chaldean accounts, which are pretended by some to be so vastly different from that of the Scriptures, may for all that be, near the matter, easily reconciled with it;* if we do but admit what Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, very credible persons and diligent searchers into ancient books, do most expressly assure us, viz. that both those nations did anciently reckon months for years. And the account of the Chinese is not hard to be reconciled with that of the Septuagint. Now in so nice and obscure a matter, as the account of ancient times is, it ought to satisfy any fair and reasonable inquirer, if they can be brought any whit near one another.

* Vide Dr. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. where this is fully made out.

So that universal tradition, and the most ancient history in the world, are clearly on our side. And, if they be, one can hardly wish a more convincing argument. For if the world, and consequently mankind, had a beginning, there is all the reason in the world to expect these two things: First, That there should be an universal tradition concerning this matter; because it was the most memorable thing that could be transmitted to posterity. And this was easy to be done, if mankind sprang from one common root and original, from whence this tradition would naturally be universally diffused. Secondly, It may with the same reason be expected, that so remarkable a thing should be recorded in the most ancient history. Now both these have accordingly happened. But then, on the other hand, if the world was eternal, and had no beginning, there could be no real ground for such a tradition or history: and, if such a tradition were at any time endeavoured to be set on foot, it is not easy to

imagine, how it should at first gain entertainment, but much more difficult to conceive, how ever it should come to be universally propagated. For, upon the supposition of those, who hold the eternity of the world, the world was always peopled; and, if so, there could be no common head or spring from whence such a tradition would naturally derive itself into all parts of the world. So that, unless all the world was some time of one language, and under one government (which it never was that we know of since it was peopled), no endeavour and industry could make such a tradition common.

If it be said, that this tradition began after some universal deluge, out of which possibly but one family might escape, and that possibly too of barbarous people; from whom any fond and groundless conceit might spring, and afterwards spread itself, as mankind increased—this I shall have occasion to consider in a more proper place. In the mean time I have shewn, even from the acknowledgment of Aristotle himself, that there was anciently such a tradition concerning the beginning of the world. Nay, if we may believe him, he himself was the very first assertor of the eternity of the world. For he* says expressly, "that all the philosophers that were before him, did hold that the world was made." Thus much for the first kind of proof this matter is capable of, namely, testimony.

* De Cœlo, l. i. c. 10.

2dly, The probabilities of reason do all likewise favour the beginning of the world: as,

1. The want of any history or tradition ancienter than what is consistent with the received opinion of the time of the world's beginning; nay, the most ancient histories were written long after that time.

This Lucretius, the famous Epicurean, urgeth as a strong presumption that the world had a beginning.

> —— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
> Terrarum et cœli, semperque æterna fuere:
> Cur supra bellum Thebanum, et funera Trojæ,
> Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ?

i. e. If the world had no beginning, how is it that the Greek poets (the most ancient of their writers) mention nothing higher than the Theban war, and the destruction of Troy? Were there from all eternity no memorable actions done till about that time? or had mankind no way, till of late, to record them and propagate the memory of them to posterity? It is much, if men were from eternity, that they should not find out the way of writing in all that long duration which had passed before that time. Sure he was a fortunate man indeed, who, after men had been eternally so dull as not to find it out, had the luck at last to hit upon it.

But, it may be, the famous actions of former times were always recorded, but that the memorials of them have been several times lost by universal deluges, which have now and then happened and swept all away, except (it may be) two or three persons, that have escaped and begun the world again upon a new score. This is the only refuge that the atheist hath to fly to, when he is pressed with this and the like arguments. But he cannot possibly escape this way. For these universal inundations must either be natural or supernatural. If they be supernatural (as any man that considers well the frame of the world, and how hard it is to give a natural reason of them, would be inclined to think) then indeed it is easy to conceive how a few of mankind, and no more, should escape: because

this will depend upon the pleasure of that superior Being, which is supposed supernaturally to order these things. But this is to yield what we have all this while contended for, viz. That there is a God. But if they be natural, which the atheist must say, then there is nothing to restrain them from a total destruction, not only of mankind, but of all the beasts of the earth. This the atheist cannot deny, not only to be very possible, but exceeding probable; because he grants it to have come so near the matter, that but very few escaped, and no doubt with great difficulty. Now it is the greatest wonder in the world, that a thing (according to their own supposition) so likely to happen, should never have fallen out in an infinite duration. Will any man have the face to say that a thing is likely, which did never yet happen from all eternity? One would think that, not only whatever is probable, but whatever can possibly happen, should be brought about in that space: so that if mankind had been from eternity, it had in all probability, I had almost said, been destroyed from all eternity; but, I may confidently say, long since ruined.

2. Another probability of the world's beginning is, the account which we have of the original of learning and the most useful arts in several parts of the world. Now if the world had been eternal, these, in all likelihood, would have been found out, and generally spread long ago, and beyond the memory of all ages. There are some arts, indeed, that are peculiarly convenient to some particular nations; and others, that are only serviceable to the humour and fashion of one or more ages. These are not likely to spread, and they may come in and

go out, and return again, as often as there is occasion. But those which are generally useful to mankind, in all times and places, if they were once found out, (and who would not think they should in an eternal duration?) it is not imaginable but that they should have been spread innumerable ages since: nor can any man give a good reason how they should ever be lost, but by some such accident as an universal deluge, which has been spoken to already. But now, on the contrary, the beginnings of learning and of the most useful arts, in several nations, is very well known. And, I add farther, that wherever learning and civil arts have come, this tradition concerning the beginning of the world hath been most vigorous, and asserted with the greatest clearness and confidence.

3. The several parts, of which the world consists, being (so far as by those parts of it which we know, we can possibly judge of the rest) in their nature corruptible; it is more than probable, that in an infinite duration this frame of things would long since have been dissolved; especially, if (as the atheist affirms) there be no superior Being, no wise and intelligent principle, to repair and regulate it, and to prevent those innumerable disorders and calamitous accidents, which must in so long a space in all probability have happened to it. This Lucretius* also urges as a convincing proof L. v. that the world was not eternal.

> Quare etiam nativa necesse est confiteare
> Hæc eadem; neque enim, mortali corpore quæ sunt,
> Ex infinito jam tempore adhuc potuissent
> Immensi validas ævi contemnere vires.

"It must necessarily," says he, "be acknowledged,

that the world had a beginning; otherwise, those things, which are in their own nature corruptible, had never been able, from all eternity, to have held out against those forcible and violent assaults, which in an infinite duration must have happened." Nay, thus much Aristotle himself every where grants, that if the frame of the world be liable to dissolution, it must of necessity be acknowledged to have had a beginning.

These are some of the chief probabilities on our side, which, being taken together, and in their united force, have a great deal of conviction in them; especially if this be added, that there is no kind of positive proof so much as pretended on the other side. The utmost that Aristotle pretends to prove, is—that the world proceeded from God by the way of a natural and necessary effect, as light does from the sun: which, if it be true (as there is no tolerable ground for it), the world indeed would be without beginning, but not of itself. And thus I have done with the first consideration I propounded to speak to, viz. That there are fair proofs on our side, and as convincing as the nature of the thing is capable of; but that there is no pretence of proof on the other. I proceed, therefore, to the

Second consideration: That the most pressing difficulties are on that side on which there is no proof.

Those who deny a God, and hold the world to have been eternal, and of itself, have only two things to object against us—the difficulties that there are in the notion of a God, and in making the world of nothing. To the first I answer, that we attribute nothing to God that hath any repugnancy or contra-

diction in it. Power, wisdom, goodness, justice, and truth, have no repugnancy in them to our reason; because we own these perfections to be in some degree in ourselves; and, therefore, they may be in the highest degree that is possible in another. The eternity of God, and his immensity, and his being of himself, how difficult soever they may be to be conceived, yet these perfections must be granted to be somewhere; and, therefore, they may as well, nay, much better, be ascribed to God, in whom we suppose all other perfections to meet, than to any thing else. And as for God's being a spirit, whatever difficulty there may be in conceiving the notion of a spirit, yet the atheist must grant the thing, that there is a being or principal really distinct from matter; or else shew how mere matter, which is confessed by themselves to be void of sense and understanding, and to move necessarily, can produce any thing that has sense, understanding, and liberty. As to the other difficulty, of making the world of nothing, I shall only say this: that though it signify an inconceivable excess of power, yet there can no contradiction be shewn in it: and it is every whit as easy to conceive that something should be caused to be that was not before, as that any thing should be of itself; which yet must be granted on both sides; and, therefore, this difficulty ought not to be objected by either.

But then, on the other side, there are these two great and real difficulties: First, That men generally have always believed the contrary, viz. That the world had a beginning, and was made by God; which is a strong evidence that this account of the existence of the world is more natural, and of a

more easy conception to human understanding. And indeed it is very natural to conceive, that every thing which is imperfect (as the world and all the creatures in it must be acknowledged in many respects to be) had some cause which produced it, such as it is, and determined the bounds and limits of its perfection: but that which is of itself, and without a cause, may be any thing, and have any perfection which does not imply a contradiction. Secondly, To assert mankind to have been of itself, and without a cause, hath this invincible objection against it; that we plainly see every man to be from another. So that mankind is asserted to have no cause of its being, and yet every particular man must be acknowledged to have a father; which is every whit as absurd, in an infinite succession of men, as in any finite number of generations. It is more easy indeed to conceive, how a constant and permanent being, suppose matter, should always have been of itself; and then, that that should be the foundation of infinite successive changes and alterations: but an infinite succession of the generations of men without any permanent foundation is utterly unimaginable. If it be said that the earth was always, and in time did produce men, and that they ever since have produced one another; this is to run into one great absurdity of the Epicurean way, which shall be considered in its proper place.

And thus I have endeavoured, as plainly and briefly as the nature of the argument would admit, to prove, that the account which the Scripture gives of the existence of the world, is most credible, and agreeable to the reason of mankind; and that this first account, which the atheist gives of it, is altoge-

ther incredible. And now I expect after all this the atheist will complain, that all that hath been said does not amount to a strict demonstration of the thing. It may be so. And if the atheist would undertake to demonstrate the contrary, there might be some reason for this complaint. In the mean time, I desire to know, whether, when both sides are agreed that the world is, and that it must either have its original from God, or have been always of itself; and if it have been made evident, that on one side there are fair proofs both from testimony and reason, and as convincing as the nature of the thing is capable of, and no pretence of proof on the other; and that the difficulties are most pressing on that side which is destitute of proof; I say, if this have been made evident, I desire to know whether this be not upon the matter as satisfactory to a wise man as a demonstration! For in this case there can be no doubt on which side the clear advantage of evidence lies, and consequently which way a prudent man ought to determine assent.

I come now, in the second place, to consider the other account which another sort of atheists, those whom I call the Epicureans, do give of the existence of the world: and it is this. They suppose the matter, of which the world is constituted, to be eternal and of itself, and then an infinite empty space for the infinite little parts of this matter (which they call atoms) to move and play in; and that these, being always in motion, did, after infinite trials and encounters, without any counsel or design, and without the disposal and contrivance of any wise and intelligent Being, at last by a lucky casualty entangle and settle themselves in this beautiful and regular

frame of the world which we now see; and that the earth, being at first in its full vigour and fruitfulness, did then bring forth men and all other sorts of living creatures as it does plants now.

This is, in short, the Epicurean account of the original of the world, which, as absurd as it is, Lucretius* hath very elegantly expressed in these verses:

* Lib. 5.

Sed quibus ille modis conjectus materiaï
Fundârit cœlum ac terram, pontique profunda,
Solisque et lunæ cursus, ex ordine ponam.
Nam certè neque consilio primordia rerum
Ordine se quæque, atque sagaci mente locârunt;
Nec quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò:
Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum
Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,
Ponderibusque suis consuêrunt concita ferri,
Omnimodisque coire, atque omnia pertentare,
Quæcunque inter se possent congressa creare:
Propterea fit, uti magnum vulgata per ævum,
Omnigenos cœtus et motus experiundo,
Tandem ea conveniant, quæ ut convenere, repentè
Magnarum rerum fiunt exordia sæpe,
Terraï, maris et cœli, generisque animantum.

Thus he, like a good poet, but a very bad maker and contriver of the world. For I appeal to any man of reason whether any thing can be more unreasonable, than obstinately to impute an effect to chance which carries, in the very face of it, all the arguments and characters of a wise design and contrivance? Was ever any considerable work, in which there was required a great variety of parts, and a regular and orderly disposition of those parts, done by chance? Will chance fit means to ends, and that in ten thousand instances, and not fail in any one? How often might a man, after he had jumbled a set of letters in a bag, fling them out upon

the ground before they would fall into an exact poem; yea, or so much as make a good discourse in prose? And may not a little book be as easily made by chance, as this great volume of the world? How long might a man be in sprinkling colours upon canvas with a careless hand, before they would happen to make the exact picture of a man? And is a man easier made by chance than his picture? How long might twenty thousand blind men, which should be sent out from the several remote parts of England, wander up and down before they would all meet upon Salisbury plains, and fall into rank and file in the order of an army? And yet this is much more easy to be imagined, than how the innumerable blind parts of matter should rendezvous themselves into a world. A man that sees Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster, might with as good reason maintain (yea with much better, considering the vast difference betwixt that little structure and the huge fabric of the world), that it was never contrived or built by any man, but that the stones did by chance grow into those curious figures into which they seem to have been cut and graven; and that upon a time (as tales usually begin) the materials of that building, the stone, mortar, timber, iron, lead and glass, happily met together, and very fortunately ranged themselves into that delicate order, in which we see them now so closely compacted, that it must be a very great chance that parts them again. What would the world think of a man that should advance such an opinion as this, and write a book for it? If they would do him right, they ought to look upon him as mad: but yet with a little more reason than any man can have to say that the world was made by

chance; or that the first men grew up out of the earth as plants do now. For can any thing be more ridiculous and against all reason than to ascribe the production of men to the first fruitfulness of the earth, without so much as one instance and experiment in any age or history to countenance so monstrous a supposition? The thing is at first sight so gross and palpable, that no discourse about it can make it more apparent. And yet these shameful beggars of principles, who give this precarious account of the original of things, assume to themselves to be the men of reason, the great wits of the world, the only cautious and wary persons that hate to be imposed upon; that must have convincing evidence for every thing, and can admit of nothing without a clear demonstration for it.

II. Speculative atheism is unreasonable, because it gives no reasonable account of the universal consent of mankind in this apprehension, that there is a God. That men do generally believe a God, and have done in all ages, the present experience of the world, and the records of former times, do abundantly testify. Now how comes this persuasion to have gained so universal a possession of the mind of man, and to have found such general entertainment in all nations, even those that are most barbarous? If there be no such thing as God in the world, how comes it to pass that this object doth continually encounter our understandings? Whence is it that we are so perpetually haunted with the apparition of a Deity, and followed with it wherever we go? If it be not natural to the mind of man, but proceeds from some accidental distemper of our understandings, how comes it to be so universal, that

no differences of age, or temper, or education, can wear it out, and set any considerable number of men free from it? Into what can we resolve this strong inclination of mankind to this error and mistake? How come all nations to be thus seduced? It is altogether unimaginable but that the reason of so universal a consent, in all places and ages of the world, and among all differences of persons, should be one and constant: but no one and constant reason of this can be given, but from the nature of man's mind and understanding, which hath this notion of a Deity born with it and stamped upon it: or, which is all one, is of such a frame, that in the free use and exercise of itself it will find out God: and what more reasonable than to think, that if we be God's workmanship, he should set this mark of himself upon all reasonable creatures, that they may know to whom they belong, and may acknowledge the Author of their beings? This seems to be a credible and satisfactory account of so universal a consent in this matter. But now what doth the atheist resolve this into? He is not at one with himself what account to give of it; nor can it be expected he should. For he that will overlook the true reason of a thing, which usually is but one, may easily find many false ones, error being infinite. But there are three which he principally relies upon—fear, tradition, and policy of state. I shall briefly consider these.

First, He would make us believe that this apprehension of a God doth spring from an infinite jealousy in the mind of man, and an endless fear of the worst that may happen; according to that divine saying of the poet, which he can never sufficiently admire,

Primùm in orbe Deos fecit timor,——

Fear first made gods. So that it is granted on both sides, that the fear of a Deity doth universally possess the minds of men. Now the question is, whether it be more likely that the existence of a God should be the cause of this fear, or that this fear should be the cause why men imagine there is a God? If there be a God, who hath impressed this image of himself upon the mind of man, there is great reason why all men should stand in awe of him: but if there be no God, it is not easy to conceive how fear should create an universal confidence and assurance in men that there is one. For, whence should this fear come? It must be either from without, from the suggestion of others, who first tell us there is such a being, and then our fear believes it; or else it must arise from within, from the nature of man, which is apt to fancy dreadful and terrible things. If from the suggestion of others who tell us so, the question returns, who told them so? and will never be satisfied until the first author of this report be found out. So that this account of fear resolves itself into tradition, which shall be spoken to in its proper place. But if it be said that this fear ariseth from within, from the nature of man, which is apt to imagine dreadful things, this likewise is liable to inexplicable difficulties. For, First—The proper object of fear is something that is dreadful; that is, something that threatens men with harm or danger; and that in God must either be power or justice: and such an object as this fear indeed may create; but goodness and mercy are essential to the notion of a God as well as power and justice: now how should fear put men upon fancying a Being that is infinitely good and merciful? No man hath reason to be afraid of such a

Being, as such. So that the atheist must join another cause to fear, *viz.* hope, to enable men to create this imagination of a God. And what would the product of these two contrary passions be? the imagination of a Being which we should fear, would do us as much harm as we could hope it would do us good; which would be *quid pro quo*, and which our reason would oblige us to lay aside so soon as we have fancied it, because it would signify just nothing. But, Secondly—Suppose fear alone could do it; how comes the mind of man to be subject to such groundless and unreasonable fears? The Aristotelian atheist will say, it always was so: but this is to affirm, and not to give any account of a thing. The Epicurean atheist, if he will speak consonantly to himself, must say, that there happened in the original constitution of the first men such a contexture of atoms as doth naturally dispose men to these panic fears; unless he will say, that the first men, when they grew out of the earth, and afterwards broke loose from their root, finding themselves weak and naked and unarmed, and meeting with several fierce creatures, stronger than themselves, they were put into such a fright as did a little distemper their understandings, and let loose their imaginations to endless suspicions and unbounded jealousies, which did at last settle in the conceit of an invisible Being, infinitely powerful, and able to do them harm; and, being fully possest with this apprehension (nothing being more ordinary than for crazed persons to believe their own fancies) they became religious; and, afterwards, when mankind began to be propagated, in the way of generation, then religion obliged them to instil these principles into their children in their

tender years, that so they might make the greater impression upon them; and this course having been continued ever since, the notion of a God hath been kept up in the world. This is very suitable to Epicurus's hypothesis of the original of men; but if any man think fit to say thus, I cannot think it fit to confute him. Thirdly—Whether men were from all eternity such timorous and fanciful creatures, or happened to be made so in the first constitution of things, it seems, however, that this fear of a Deity hath a foundation in nature. And, if it be natural, ought we not rather to conclude, that there is some ground and reason for these fears, and that nature hath not planted them in us to no purpose, than that they are vain and groundless? There is no principle that Aristotle (the great asserter of the eternity of the world) doth more frequently inculcate than this, that nature doth nothing in vain; and the atheist himself is forced to acknowledge (and so every man must who attentively considers the frame of the world), that although things were made by chance, yet they have happened as well as if the greatest wisdom had the ordering and contriving of them. And surely wisdom would never have planted such a vain principle as the fear of a Deity in the nature of man, if there had not been a God in the world.

Secondly, If fear be not a sufficient account of this universal consent, the atheist thinks it may very probably be resolved into universal tradition. But this likewise is liable to great exception. For, whence came this tradition? it must begin some time, it must have its original from somebody; and it were very well worth our knowing who that man was, that first raised this spirit, which all the reason

of mankind could never conjure down since. Where did he live, and when? In what country, and in what age of the world? What was his name, or his son's name, that we may know him? This the atheist can give no punctual account of; only he imagines it not improbable, that somebody long ago (nobody knows when) beyond the memory of all ages, did start such a notion in the world, and that it hath passed for current ever since. But if this tradition be granted so very ancient as to have been before all books, and to be older than any history, it may for any thing any body can tell have been from the beginning; and then it is much more likely to be a notion, which was bred in the mind of man, and born with him, than a tradition transmitted from hand to hand through all generations; especially if we consider how many rude and barbarous nations there are in the world, which consent in the opinion of a God, and yet have scarce any certain tradition of any thing that was done among them but two or three ages before.

Thirdly, But if neither of these be satisfactory, he hath one way more; which although it signify little to men of sober and severe reason, yet it very unhappily hits the jealous and suspicious humour of the generality of men, who, from the experience they have had of themselves and others, are very apt to suspect that every body, but especially their superiors and governors, have a design to impose upon them for their own ends. In short, it is this: that this noise about a God is a mere state engine and a politic device, invented at first by some great prince or minister of state, to keep people in awe and order. And, if so, from hence (saith the atheist) we may easily apprehend how from such an original it might

be generally propagated and become universally current, having the stamp of public authority upon it. Besides, that people have always been found easy to comply with the inclinations of their prince. And from hence likewise we may see the reason why this notion hath continued so long. For, being found by experience to be so excellent an instrument of government, we may be sure it would always be cherished and kept up.

And now he triumphs, and thinks the business is very clear: thus it was, some time or other, (most probably towards the beginning of the world, if it had a beginning, when all mankind was under one universal monarch) some great Nebuchadnezzar set up this image of a deity, and commanded all people and nations to fall down and worship it: and this being found a successful device to awe people into obedience to government, it hath been continued to this day, and is like to last to the end of the world. To this fine conjecture I have four things to say:

1. That all this is mere conjecture and supposition; he cannot bring the least shadow of proof or evidence for any one tittle of it.

2. This supposition grants the opinion of a god to conduce very much to the support of government and order in the world; and, consequently, to be very beneficial to mankind. So that the atheist cannot but acknowledge that it is great pity that it should not be true, and that it is the common interest of mankind, if there were but probable arguments for it, not to admit of any slight reason against it; and to punish all those who would seduce men to atheism, as the great disturbers of the world, and pests of human society.

3. This supposition can have nothing of certainty in it, unless this be true, that whoever makes a politic advantage of other men's principles ought to be presumed to contrive those principles into them. Whereas it is much more common, (because more easy) for men to serve their own ends of those principles or opinions, which they do not put into men, but find there. So that if the question of a God were to be decided by the probability of this conjecture, (which the atheist applauds himself most in) it would be concluded in the affirmative. It being much more likely, since politicians reap the advantages of obedience, and a more ready submission to government from mens believing that there is a God, that they found the minds of men prepossessed to their hands with the notion of a God, than that they planted it there.

4. We have as much evidence of the contrary to this supposition as such a thing is capable of, viz. that it was not an *arcanum imperii*, a secret of government, to propagate the belief of a God among the people, when the governors themselves knew it to be a cheat. For we find in the histories of all ages, of which we have any records, (and of other ages we cannot possibly judge) that princes have not been more secure from troubles of conscience and the fears of religion, and the terrors of another world, (nay, many of them more subject to these) than other men, as I could give many instances, and those no mean ones. What made Caligula creep under that bed when it thundered? What made Tiberius, that great master of the crafts of government, complain so much of the grievous stings and lashes he felt in his conscience? What made Car-

dinal Wolsey (that great minister of state in our own nation) to pour forth his soul in those sad words, " Had I been as diligent to please my God as I have been to please my king, he would not have forsaken me now in my grey hairs?" What reason for such actions and speeches, if these great men had known that religion was but a cheat? But if they knew nothing of this secret, I think we may safely conclude, that the notion of a God did not come from the court, that it was not the invention of politicians, and a juggle of state to cozen the people into obedience.

And now from all this that hath been said, it seems to be very evident, that the general consent of mankind in this apprehension, that there is a God, must in all reason be ascribed to some more certain and universal cause than fear or tradition, or state policy, viz. to this, that God himself hath wrought this image of himself upon the mind of man, and so woven it into the very frame of his being, that (like Phidia's picture in Minerva's shield) it can never totally be defaced without the ruin of human nature.

I know but one objection that this discourse is liable to, which is this; that the universal consent of mankind in the apprehension of a God is no more an argument that he really is, than the general agreement of so many nations for so many ages in the worship of many gods is an argument that there are many.

To this I answer, 1. That the generality of the philosophers and wise men of all nations and ages did dissent from the multitude in these things. They believed but one supreme Deity, which with respect

to the various benefits men received from him, had several titles bestowed upon him. And although they did servilely comply with the people in worshipping God by sensible images and representations; yet it appears by their writings, that they despised this way of worship as superstitious, and unsuitable to the nature of God. So that Polytheism and idolatry are far from being able to pretend to universal consent, from their having had the vote of the multitude in most nations for several ages together. Because the opinion of the vulgar, separated from the consent and approbation of the wise, signifies no more than a great many ciphers would do without figures.

2. The gross ignorance and mistakes of the heathen about God and his worship are a good argument that there is a God; because they shew that men, sunk into the most degenerate condition, into the greatest blindness and darkness imaginable, do yet retain some sense and awe of a Deity; that religion is a property of our natures, and that the notion of a Deity is intimate to our understandings, and sticks close to them, seeing men will rather have any God than none; and rather than want a Deity they will worship any thing.

3. That there have been so many false gods devised, is rather an argument that there is a true one than that there is none. There would be no counterfeits but for the sake of something that is real. For though all pretenders seem to be what they really are not, yet they pretend to be something that really is: for to counterfeit is to put on the likeness and appearance of some real excellence. There would be no brass money, if there were not good

and lawful money. Bristol stones would not pretend to be diamonds, if there never had been any diamonds. Those idols in Henry the Seventh's time, (as Sir Francis Bacon calls them) Lambert Symnel and Perkin Warbeck, had never been set up if there had not once been a real Plantagenet and Duke of York. So the idols of the heathen, though they be set up in affront to the true God, yet they rather prove that there is one, than the contrary.

III. Speculative atheism is absurd, because it requires more evidence for things than they are capable of. Aristotle hath long since well observed, how unreasonable it is to expect the same kind of proof and evidence for every thing, which we have for some things. Mathematical things, being of an abstracted nature, are capable of the clearest and strictest demonstration: but conclusions in natural philosophy are capable of proof by an induction of experiments; things of a moral nature by moral arguments; and matters of fact by credible testimony. And though none of these be capable of that strict kind of demonstration, which mathematical matters are; yet have we an undoubted assurance of them, when they are proved by the best arguments that things of that kind will bear. No man can demonstrate to me, (unless we will call every argument that is fit to convince a wise man a demonstration) that there is such an island in America as Jamaica. Yet upon the testimony of credible persons who have seen it, and authors who have written of it, I am as free from all doubt concerning it, as I am from doubting of the clearest mathematical demonstration. So that this is to be

entertained as a firm principle by all those who pretend to be certain of any thing at all—that when any thing, in any of these kinds, is proved by as good argument as a thing of that kind is capable of, and we have as great assurance that it is, as we could possibly have supposing it were, we ought not in reason to make any doubt of the existence of that thing.

Now to apply this to the present case. The being of a God is not mathematically demonstrable, nor can it be expected it should, because only mathematical matters admit of this kind of evidence. Nor can it be proved immediately by sense, because God, being supposed to be a pure spirit, cannot be the object of any corporeal sense. But yet we have as great assurance, that there is a God as the nature of the thing to be proved is capable of; and as we could in reason expect to have, supposing that he were. For let us suppose there were such a being as an infinite spirit, clothed with all possible perfection; that is, as good and wise and powerful, &c. as can be imagined: what conceivable ways are there, whereby we should come to be assured that there is such a being? but either by an internal impression of the notion of a God upon our minds; or else by such external and visible effects as our reason tells us must be attributed to some cause, and which we cannot without great violence to our understandings attribute to any other cause but such a being as we conceive God to be; that is, one that is infinitely good and wise and powerful? Now we have this double assurance that there is a God, and greater or other than this the thing is not capable of: if God should assume a body, and present himself

before our eyes, this might amaze us, but could not give us any rational assurance that there is an infinite spirit. If he should work a miracle; this could not in reason convince an atheist more than the arguments he already hath for it. If the atheist then were to ask a sign in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, what could he desire God to do for his conviction more than he hath already done? Could he desire him to work a greater miracle than to make a world? Why, if God should carry this perverse man out of the limits of this world, and shew him a new heaven and a new earth, springing out of nothing, he might say that innumerable parts of matter chanced just then to rally together, and to form themselves into this new world, and that God did not make it. Thus you see that we have all the rational assurance of a God that the thing is capable of, and that atheism is absurd and unreasonable in requiring more.

IV. The atheist is unreasonable, because he pretends to know that which no man can know, and to be certain of that which nobody can be certain of; that is, that there is no God, and, which is consequent upon this, (as I shall shew afterwards) that it is not possible there should be one. And the atheist must pretend to know this certainly. For it were the greatest folly in the world for a man to deny and despise a God, if he be not certain that he is not. Now whoever pretends to be certain that there is no God hath this great disadvantage—he pretends to be certain of a pure negative. But of negatives we have far the least certainty, and they are usually hardest, and many times impossible to be proved. Indeed, such negatives as only deny some

particular mode or manner of a thing's existence, a man may have a certainty of them; because, when we see things to be, we may see what they are, and in what manner they do or do not exist. For instance, we may be certain that man is not a creature that hath wings, because this only concerns the manner of his existence; and we, seeing what he is, may certainly know that he is not so or so: but pure negatives, that is, such as absolutely deny the existence of things, or the possibility of their existence can never be proved; for, after all that can be said against a thing, this will still be true, that many things possibly are which we know not of, and that many more things may be than are; and, if so, after all our arguments against a thing, it will be uncertain whether it be or not. And this is universally true, unless the thing denied to be do plainly imply a contradiction; from which I have already shewn the notion of a God to be free. Now the atheist pretends to be certain of a pure negative, that there is no such being as God, and that it is not possible there should be: but no man can reasonably pretend to know thus much, but he must pretend to know all things that are or can be; which if any man should be so vain as to pretend to, yet it is to be hoped that nobody would be so weak as to believe him.

V. Speculative atheism is unreasonable, because it contradicts itself. There is this great contradiction in the denial of a God: he that denies a God says that that is impossible, which yet he must grant to be possible. He says, it is impossible that there should be such a being as God, in saying that *de facto* there is no such being. For eternity being

essential to the notion of a God, if there be not a God already, it is impossible now that there should be one; because such a being, as is supposed to be essentially eternal and without beginning, cannot now begin to be. And yet he must grant it possible, that there should be such a being as hath all possible perfection: and such a being as this is that which we call God, and is that very thing which the atheist denies, and others affirm to be. For he that denies a God, must deny such a being as all the world describe God to be; and this is the general notion which all men have of God, that he is a being as perfect as is possible; that is, endued with all such perfections as do not imply a contradiction, which none of those perfections which we attribute to God do, as I have already proved.

II. Speculative atheism, as it is unreasonable, so is it a most imprudent and uncomfortable opinion: and that upon these two accounts. First, Because it is against the present interest and happiness of mankind. Secondly, Because it is infinitely hazardous and unsafe in the issue.

1. It is against the present interest and happiness of mankind. If atheism were the general opinion of the world, it would be infinitely prejudicial to the peace and happiness of human society, and would open a wide door to all manner of confusion and disorder. But this I shall not now insist upon, because I design a particular discourse of that by itself.

I shall at present content myself to shew how uncomfortable an opinion this would be to particular persons: for nothing can be more evident, than that man is not sufficient of himself to his own happiness. He is liable to many evils and miseries

which he can neither prevent nor redress. He is full of wants which he cannot supply, and compassed about with infirmities which he cannot remove, and obnoxious to dangers which he can never sufficiently provide against. Consider man without the protection and conduct of a superior being, and he is secure of nothing that he enjoys in this world, and uncertain of every thing that he hopes for. He is apt to grieve for what he cannot help, and eagerly to desire what he is never likely to obtain. "Man walketh in a vain show, and disquieteth himself in vain." He courts happiness in a thousand shapes, and the faster he pursues it, the faster it flies from him. His hopes and expectations are bigger than his enjoyments, and his fears and jealousies more troublesome than the evils themselves which he is so much afraid of. He is liable to a great many inconveniences every moment of his life, and is continually insecure, not only of the good things of this life, but even of life itself. And, besides all this, after all his endeavours to the contrary, he finds himself naturally to dread a superior Being, that can defeat all his designs, and disappoint all his hopes, and make him miserable beyond all his fears. He has oftentimes secret misgivings concerning another life after this, and fearful apprehensions of an invisible Judge; and thereupon he is full of anxiety concerning his condition in another world, and sometimes plunged into that anguish and despair that he grows weary of himself. So that the atheist deprives himself of all the comfort that the apprehensions of a God can give a man, and yet is liable to all the trouble and disquiet of those apprehensions.

I do not say that these inconveniences do happen

to all; but every one is in danger of them. For man's nature is evidently so contrived as does plainly discover how unable he is to make himself happy. So that he must necessarily look abroad and seek for happiness somewhere else. And if there be no superior Being, in whose care of him he may repose his confidence and quiet his mind; if he have no comfortable expectations of another life to sustain him under the evils and calamities he is liable to in this world, he is certainly of all creatures the most miserable. There are none of us but may happen to fall into those circumstances of danger, or want or pain, or some other sort of calamity, that we can have no hopes of relief or comfort but from God alone: none in all the world to flee to but him. And what would men do in such a case if it were not for God? Human nature is most certainly liable to desperate exigences, and he is not happy that is not provided against the worst that may happen. It is bad to be reduced to such a condition as to be destitute of all comfort. And yet men are many times brought to that extremity, that if it were not for God, they would not know what to do with themselves, or how to enjoy themselves for one hour, or to entertain their thoughts with any comfortable considerations under their present anguish and sufferings. All men naturally fly to God in extremity, and the most atheistical person in the world, when he is forsaken of all hopes of any other relief, is forced to acknowledge him, and would be glad to have such a friend.

Can it then be a wise and reasonable design to endeavour to banish the belief of a God out of the world? Not to say how impious it is in respect of

God, nothing can be more malicious to men, and more effectually undermine the only foundation of our happiness. For if there were no God in the world, man would be in a much more wretched and disconsolate condition, than the creatures below him. For they are only sensible of present pain, and when it is upon them they bear it as they can. But they are not at all apprehensive of evils at a distance, nor tormented with the fearful prospect of what may befal them hereafter; nor are they plunged into despair upon the consideration, that the evils they lie under are like to continue, and are incapable of a remedy. And as they have no apprehension of these things, so they need no comfort against them. But mankind is liable to all the same evils and many others; which are so much the greater, because they are aggravated and set on by the restless workings of our minds, and exasperated by the smart reflections and frettings of our own thoughts: and if there be no God, we are wholly without comfort under all these, and without any other remedy than what time will give. For if the providence of God be taken away, what security have we against those innumerable dangers and mischiefs to which human nature is continually exposed? What consolation under them, when we are reduced to that condition that no creature can give us any hopes of relief? But if we believe that there is a God that takes care of us, and we be careful to please him, this cannot but be a mighty comfort to us, both under the present sense of affliction, and the apprehension of evils at a distance. For, in that case, we are secure of one of these three things; either that God by his providence will prevent the evils we fear, if that be

best for us: or that he will support us under them when they are present, and add to our strength as he increaseth our burden: or that he will make them the occasion of a greater good to us, by turning them either to our advantage in this world, or the increase of our happiness in the next. Now every one of these considerations has a great deal of comfort in it; for which, if there were no God, there could be no ground. Nay, on the contrary, the most real foundation of our unhappiness would be laid in our reason; and we should be so much more miserable than the beasts, by how much we have a quicker apprehension and a deeper consideration of things.

So that if a man had arguments sufficient to persuade him that there is no God (as there is infinite reason to the contrary), yet the belief of a God is so necessary to the comfort and happiness of our lives, that a wise man could not but be heartily troubled to quit so pleasant an error, and to part with a delusion which is apt to yield such unspeakable satisfaction to the mind of man. Did but men consider the true notion of God, he would appear to be so lovely a being, and so full of goodness and of all desirable perfections, that even those very persons, who are of such irregular understandings, as not to believe that there is a God, yet could not, if they understood themselves, refrain from wishing with all their hearts, that there were one. For is it not really desirable to every man, that there should be such a being in the world as takes care of the frame of it, that it do not run into confusion, and in that disorder ruin mankind? That there should be such a Being as takes particular care of every one of us

and loves us, and delights to do us good; as understands all our wants, and is able and willing to relieve us in our greatest straights, when nothing else can; to preserve us in our greatest dangers, to assist us against our worst enemies, and to comfort us under our sharpest sufferings, when all other things set themselves against us? Is it not every man's interest, that there should be such a Governor of the world as really designs our happiness, and hath omitted nothing that is necessary to it; as would govern us for our advantage, and will require nothing of us but what is for our good, and yet will infinitely reward us for the doing of that which is best for ourselves? that will punish any man that should go about to injure us, or to deal otherwise with us than himself in the like case would be dealt withal by us? In a word, such a one as is ready to be reconciled to us when we have offended him, and is so far from taking little advantages against us for every failing, that he is willing to pardon our most wilful miscarriages, upon our repentance and amendment? And we have reason to believe God to be such a being, if he be at all.

Why then should any man be troubled that there is such a Being as this, or think himself concerned to shut him out of the world? How could such a Governor as this be wanting in the world, that is so great a comfort and security to mankind, and the confidence of all the ends of the earth? If God be such a being as I have described, woe to the world if it were without him. This would be a thousand times greater loss to mankind, and of more dismal consequences, and, if it were true, ought to

affect us with more grief and horror than the extinguishing of the sun.

Let but all things be well considered, and I am very confident, that if a wise and considerate man were left to himself and his own choice, to wish the greatest good to himself he could devise, after he had searched heaven and earth, the sum of all his wishes would be this, that there were just such a being as God is: nor would he choose any other benefactor, or friend, or protector for himself, or governor for the whole world, than infinite power conducted and managed by infinite wisdom, and goodness and justice, which is the true notion of a God.

Nay, so necessary is God to the happiness of mankind, that though there were no God, yet the atheist himself, upon second thoughts, would judge it convenient that the generality of men should believe that there is one. For when the atheist had attained his end, and, if it were a thing possible, had blotted the notion of a God out of the minds of men, mankind would in all probability grow so melancholy and so unruly a thing, that he himself would think it fit in policy to contribute his best endeavours to the restoring of men to their former belief. Thus hath God secured the belief of himself in the world, against all attempts to the contrary; not only by riveting the notion of himself into our natures, but likewise by making the belief of his being necessary to the peace and tranquillity of our minds, and to the quiet and happiness of human society.

So that, if we consult our reason, we cannot but believe that there is; if our interest, we cannot but

heartily wish that there were such a being as God in the world. Every thing within us and without us gives notice of him. His name is written upon our hearts; and in every creature there are some prints and footsteps of him. Every moment we feel our dependance upon him, and do by daily experience find that we can neither be happy without him, nor think ourselves so.

I confess it is not a wicked man's interest, if he resolve to continue such, that there should be a God; but then it is not men's interest to be wicked. It is for the general good of human society, and consequently of particular persons, to be true and just; it is for men's health to be temperate, and so I could instance in all other virtues: but this is the mystery of atheism, men are wedded to their lusts, and resolved upon a wicked course; and so it becomes their interest to wish there were no God, and to believe so if they can. Whereas, if men were minded to live righteously and soberly and virtuously in the world, to believe a God would be no hindrance or prejudice to any such design, but very much for the advancement and furtherance of it. Men that are good and virtuous do easily believe a God; so that it is vehemently to be suspected, that nothing but the strength of men's lusts, and the power of vicious inclinations, do sway their minds, and set a bias upon their understandings toward atheism.

2. Atheism is imprudent, because it is unsafe in the issue. The atheist contends against the religious man, that there is no God; but upon strange inequality and odds, for he ventures his eternal interest; whereas the religious man ventures only

the loss of his lusts, which it is much better for him to be without, or at the utmost of some temporal convenience; and all this while is inwardly more contented and happy, and usually more healthful, and perhaps meets with more respect and faithfuller friends, and lives in a more secure and flourishing condition, and more free from the evils and punishments of this world, than the atheistical person does; however, it is not much that he ventures: and, after this life, if there be no God, is as well as he; but if there be a God, is infinitely better, even as much as unspeakable and eternal happiness is better than extreme and endless misery. So that, if the arguments for and against a God were equal, and it were an even question whether there were one or not, yet the hazard and danger is so infinitely unequal, that in point of prudence and interest every man were obliged to incline to the affirmative; and, whatever doubts he might have about it, to choose the safest side of the question, and to make that the principle to live by. For he that acts wisely, and is a thoroughly prudent man, will be provided against all events, and will take care to secure the main chance, whatever happens; but the atheist, in case things should fall out contrary to his belief and expectation, hath made no provision for this case. If, contrary to his confidence, it should prove in the issue that there is a God, the man is lost and undone for ever. If the atheist, when he dies, should find that his soul remains after his body, and has only quitted its lodging, how will this man be amazed and blanked, when, contrary to his expectation, he shall find himself in a new and strange place,

amidst a world of spirits, entered upon an everlasting and unchangeable state? How sadly will the man be disappointed when he finds all things otherwise than he had stated and determined them in this world. When he comes to appear before that God, whom he hath denied, and against whom he hath spoken as despiteful things as he could, who can imagine the pale and guilty looks of this man, and how he will shiver and tremble for the fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty? How will he be surprised with terrors on every side, to find himself thus unexpectedly and irrecoverably plunged into a state of ruin and desperation? And thus things may happen for all this man's confidence now. For our belief or disbelief of a thing does not alter the nature of the thing. We cannot fancy things into being, or make them vanish into nothing by the stubborn confidence of our imaginations. Things are as sullen as we are, and will be what they are whatever we think of them. And if there be a God, a man cannot by an obstinate disbelief of him make him cease to be, any more than a man can put out the sun by winking.

And thus I have, as briefly and clearly as I could, endeavoured to shew the ignorance and folly of speculative atheism, in denying the existence of God. And now it will be less needful to speak of the other two principles of religion—the immortality of the soul and future rewards. For no man can have any reasonable scruple about these, who believes that there is a God. Because no man that owns the existence of an infinite spirit, can doubt of the possibility of a finite spirit; that is, such a thing as is immaterial, and does not contain any principle of

corruption in itself: and there is no man that believes the goodness of God, but must be inclined to think that he hath made some things for as long a duration as they are capable of. Nor can any man, that acknowledgeth the holy and just providence of God, and that he loves righteousness and hates iniquity, and that he is a magistrate and governor of the world, and consequently concerned to countenance the obedience, and to punish the violation of his laws; and that does withal consider the promiscuous dispensations many times of God's providence in this world: I say, no man that acknowledges all this, can think it unreasonable to conclude, that, after this life, good men shall be rewarded and sinners punished. I have done with the first sort of irreligious persons, the speculative atheist. I shall speak but briefly of the other.

Secondly, The practical atheist, who is wicked and irreligious, notwithstanding he does in some sort believe that there is a God and a future state; he is likewise guilty of prodigious folly. The principle of the speculative atheist argues more ignorance, but the practice of the other argues greater folly. Not to believe a God, and another life, for which there is so much evidence of reason, is great ignorance and folly; but it is the highest madness when a man does believe these things, to live as if he did not believe them. When a man does not doubt but that there is a God, and that according as he demeans himself towards him he will make him happy or miserable for ever, yet to live so as if he were certain of the contrary; and as no man in reason can live, but he that is well assured that there is no God. It was a shrewd saying of the old monk,

that two kinds of prisons would serve for all offenders in the world—an inquisition and a bedlam. If any man should deny the being of a God and the immortality of the soul, such a one should be put into the first of these, the inquisition, as being a desperate heretic; but if any man should profess to believe these things, and yet allow himself in any known wickedness, such a one should be put into bedlam; because there cannot be a greater folly and madness than for a man in matters of greatest moment and concernment, to act against his best reason and understanding, and by his life to contradict his belief. Such a man does perish with his eyes open, and knowingly undoes himself; he runs upon the greatest dangers which he clearly sees to be before him, and precipitates himself into those evils which he professes to believe to be real and intolerable; and wilfully neglects the obtaining of that unspeakable good and happiness which he is persuaded is certain and attainable. Thus much for the second way of confirmation.

III. The third way of confirmation shall be, by endeavouring to vindicate religion from those common imputations, which seem to charge it with ignorance or imprudence. And they are chiefly these three:

1. Credulity.
2. Singularity.
3. Making a foolish bargain.

First, Credulity. Say they, the foundation of religion is the belief of those things for which we have no sufficient reason, and consequently, of which we can have no good assurance; as the belief of a God and of a future state after this life; things which

we never saw, nor did experience, nor ever spoke with any body that did. Now it seems to argue too great a forwardness and easiness of belief to assent to any thing upon insufficient grounds.

To this I answer,

1. That if there be such a being as a God, and such a thing as a future state after this life, it cannot (as I said before) in reason be expected that we should have the evidence of sense for such things: for he that believes a God, believes such a being as hath all perfections, among which this is one, that he is a spirit; and consequently, that he is invisible, and cannot be seen. He likewise that believes another life after this, professeth to believe a state, of which in this life we have no trial and experience. Besides, if this were a good objection, that no man ever saw these things, it strikes at the atheist as well as us. For no man ever saw the world to be from eternity; nor Epicurus's atoms, of which notwithstanding he believes the world was made.

2. We have the best evidence for these things which they are capable of at present, supposing they were.

3. Those who deny these principles, must be much more credulous, that is, believe things upon incomparably less evidence of reason. The atheist looks upon all that are religious as a company of credulous fools. But he, for his part, pretends to be wiser than to believe any thing for company; he cannot entertain things upon those slight grounds which move other men; if you would win his assent to any thing, you must give him a clear demonstration for it. Now there is no way to deal with this man

of reason, this rigid exacter of strict demonstration for things which are not capable of it, but by shewing him that he is an hundred times more credulous, that he begs more principles, takes more things for granted without offering to prove them, and assents to more strange conclusions upon weaker grounds than those whom he so much accuseth of credulity.

And, to evidence this, I shall briefly give you an account of the atheist's creed, and present you with a catalogue of the fundamental articles of his faith. He believes that there is no God, nor possibly can be, and consequently that the wise as well as unwise of all ages have been mistaken, except himself and a few more. He believes that either all the world have been frighted with an apparition of their own fancy, or that they have most unnaturally conspired together to cozen themselves; or that this notion of a God is a trick of policy, though the greatest princes and politicians do not at this day know so much, nor have done time out of mind. He believes, either that the heavens and the earth, and all things in them, had no original cause of their being, or else that they were made by chance, and happened he knows not how to be as they are; and that in this last shuffling of matter, all things have by great good fortune fallen out as happily and as regularly as if the greatest wisdom had contrived them, but yet he is resolved to believe that there was no wisdom in the contrivance of them. He believes, that matter of itself is utterly void of all sense, understanding, and liberty; but, for all that, he is of opinion, that the parts of matter may now and then happen to be so conveniently disposed, as to have all these qualities, and most dexterously to perform

all those fine and free operations which the ignorant attribute to spirits.

This is the sum of his belief. And it is a wonder, that there should be found any person pretending to reason or wit that can assent to such a heap of absurdities, which are so gross and palpable that they may be felt. So that if every man had his due, it will certainly fall to the atheist's share to be the most credulous person, that is, to believe things upon the slightest reasons. For he does not pretend to prove any thing of all this, only he finds himself, he knows not why, inclined to believe so, and to laugh at those that do not:

II. The second imputation is *singularity;* the affectation whereof is unbecoming a wise man. To this charge I answer,

1. If by religion be meant the belief of the principles of religion, that there is a God, and a providence, that our souls are immortal, and that there are rewards to be expected after this life; these are so far from being singular opinions, that they are and always have been the general opinion of mankind, even of the most barbarous nations. Insomuch, that the histories of ancient times do hardly furnish us with the names of above five or six persons who denied a God. And Lucretius acknowledgeth that Epicurus was the first who did oppose those great foundations of religion, the providence of God, and the immortality of the soul. *Primum Graius homo*, &c. meaning Epicurus.

2. If by religion be meant a living up to those principles, that is, to act conformably to our best reason and understanding, and to live as it does become those who do believe a God and a future state;

this is acknowledged, even by those who live otherwise, to be the part of every wise man; and the contrary to be the very madness of folly, and height of distraction; nothing being more ordinary than for men who live wickedly to acknowledge that they ought to do otherwise.

3. Though according to the common course and practice of the world it be somewhat singular for men truly and thoroughly to live up to the principles of their religion, yet singularity in this matter is so far from being a reflection upon any man's prudence, that it is a singular commendation of it. In two cases singularity is very commendable.

1. When there is a necessity of it in order to a man's greatest interest and happiness. I think it to be a reasonable account for any man to give why he does not live as the greatest part of the world do, that he has no mind to die as they do, and to perish with them; he is not disposed to be a fool, and to be miserable for company; he has no inclination to have his last end like theirs who know not God, and obey not the gospel of his Son, and shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

2. It is very commendable to be singular in any excellency, and I have shewn that religion is the greatest excellency: to be singular in any thing that is wise, and worthy, and excellent, is not a disparagement, but a praise: every man would choose to be thus singular.

III. The third imputation is, that religion is a foolish bargain; because, they who are religious hazard the parting with a present and certain happi-

ness, for that which is future and uncertain. To this I answer,

1. Let it be granted, that the assurance which we have of future rewards falls short of the evidence of sense. For I doubt not, but that saying of our Saviour, "Blessed is he who hath believed, and not seen;" and those expressions of the apostle, "we walk by faith, and not by sight," and "faith is the evidence of things not seen," are intended by way of abatement and diminution to the evidence of faith, and do signify, that the report and testimony of others is not so great evidence as that of our own senses; and though we have sufficient assurance of another state, yet no man can think we have so great evidence as if we ourselves had been in the other world, and seen how all things are there.

2. We have sufficient assurance of these things, and such as may beget in us a well-grounded confidence, and free us from all doubts of the contrary, and persuade a reasonable man to venture his greatest interests in this world upon the security that he hath of another: for,

1. We have as much assurance of these things as things future and at a distance are capable of, and he is a very unreasonable man that would desire more: future and invisible things are not capable of the evidence of sense; but we have the greatest rational evidence for them, and in this every reasonable man ought to rest satisfied.

2. We have as much as is abundantly sufficient to justify every man's discretion, who, for the great and eternal things of another world, hazards or parts with the poor and transitory things of this life. And

for the clearing of this it will be worth our considering, that the greatest affairs of this world, and the most important concernments of this life, are all conducted only by moral demonstrations. Men every day venture their lives and estates only upon moral assurance. For instance, men who never were at the East or West Indies, or in Turkey or Spain, yet do venture their whole estate in traffic thither, though they have no mathematical demonstration, but only moral assurance, that there are such places. Nay, which is more, men every day eat and drink, though I think no man can demonstrate out of Euclid or Apollonius, that his baker, brewer, or cook, have not conveyed poison into his meat or drink. And that man, that would be so wise and cautious, as not to eat or drink until he could demonstrate this to himself, I know no other remedy for him, but, that in great gravity and wisdom, he must die for fear of death. And for any man to urge that, though men in temporal affairs proceed upon moral assurance, yet there is greater assurance required to make men seek heaven and avoid hell, seems to me to be highly unreasonable. For such an assurance of things as will make men circumspect and careful to avoid a lesser danger, ought in all reason to awaken men much more to the avoiding of a greater; such an assurance as will sharpen men's desires and quicken their endeavours for the obtaining of a lesser good, ought in all reason to animate men more powerfully, and to inspire them with a greater vigour and industry in the pursuit of that which is infinitely greater. For why the same assurance should not operate as well in a great danger as in a less, in a great good as in a small and in-

considerable one, I can see no reason; unless men will say, that the greatness of an evil danger is an encouragement to men to run upon it, and that the greatness of any good and happiness ought in reason to dishearten men from the pursuit of it.

And now I think I may with reason intreat such as are atheistically inclined, to consider these things seriously and impartially; and if there be weight in these considerations, which I have offered to them to sway with reasonable men, I would beg of such, that they would not suffer themselves to be biassed by prejudice or passion, or the interest of any lust or worldly advantage, to a contrary persuasion.

First, I would intreat them seriously and diligently to consider these things, because they are of so great moment and concernment to every man. If any thing in the world deserve our serious study and consideration, these principles of religion do. For what can import us more to be satisfied in, than whether there be a God or not? Whether our souls shall perish with our bodies, or be immortal and shall continue for ever? And, if so, whether in that eternal state, which remains for men after this life, they shall not be happy or miserable for ever, according as they have demeaned themselves in this world? If these things be so, they are of infinite consequence to us; and therefore it highly concerns us to inquire diligently about them, and to satisfy our minds concerning them one way or other. For these are not matters to be slightly and superficially thought upon, much less (as the way of atheistical men is) to be played and jested withal. There is no greater argument of a light and inconsiderate person, than profanely to scoff at religion. It is a sign that

that man hath no regard to himself, and that he is not touched with a sense of his own interest, who loves to be jesting with edged tools, and to play with life and death. This is the very madman that Solomon speaks of, "who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death, and saith, Am I not in sport?" To examine severely and debate seriously the principles of religion, is a thing worthy of a wise man; but if any man shall turn religion into raillery, and think to confute it by two or three bold jests, this man doth not render religion, but himself, ridiculous, in the opinion of all considerate men; because he sports with his own life. If the principles of religion were doubtful and uncertain, yet they concern us so nearly that we ought to be serious in the examination of them. And though they were never so clear and evident, yet they may be made ridiculous by vain and frothy men; as the gravest and wisest person in the world may be abused by being put into a fool's coat, and the most noble and excellent poem may be debased and made vile by being turned into burlesque. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more largely in my next discourse.

Prov. xxvi. 18.

So that it concerns every man, that would not trifle away his soul, and fool himself into irrecoverable misery, with the greatest seriousness to inquire into these matters, whether they be so or not, and patiently to consider the arguments which are brought for them. For many have miscarried about these things, not because there is not reason and evidence enough for them, but because they have not had patience enough to consider them.

Secondly, Consider these things impartially. All

wicked men are of a party against religion. Some lust or interest engageth them against it. Hence it comes to pass that they are apt to slight the strongest arguments that can be brought for it, and to cry up very weak ones against it. Men do generally and without difficulty assent to mathematical truths, because it is nobody's interest to deny them; but men are slow to believe moral and Divine truths, because by their lusts and interest they are prejudiced against them. And therefore you may observe, that the more virtuously any man lives, and the less he is enslaved to any lust, the more ready he is to entertain the principles of religion.

Therefore when you are examining these matters, do not take into consideration any sensual or worldly interest, but deal clearly and impartially with yourselves. Let not temporal and little advantages sway you against a greater and more durable interest. Think thus with yourselves, that you have not the making of things true or false, but that the truth and existence of things is already fixed and settled, and that the principles of religion are already either determinately true or false before you think of them; either there is a God, or there is not; either your souls are immortal, or they are not: one of these is certain and necessary, and is not now to be altered; the truth of things will not comply with our conceits, and bend itself to our interests. Therefore do not think what you would have to be, but consider impartially what is, and (if it be) will be, whether you will or no. Do not reason thus: I would fain be wicked, and therefore it is my interest that there should be no God, nor no life after this; and therefore I will endeavour to prove that there is no such

thing, and will shew all the favour I can to that side of the question; I will bend my understanding and wit to strengthen the negative, and will study to make it as true as I can. This is fond, because it is the way to cheat thyself; and that we may do as often as we please, but the nature of things will not be imposed upon. If then thou be as wise as thou oughtest to be, thou wilt reason thus with thyself:—my highest interest is not to be deceived about these matters; therefore, setting aside all other considerations, I will endeavour to know the truth, and yield to that.

And now it is time to draw towards a conclusion of this long discourse. And that which I have all this while been endeavouring to convince men of, and to persuade them to, is no other but what God himself doth particularly recommend to us as proper for human consideration: "Unto man he said, Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding." Whoever pretends to reason, and calls himself a man, is obliged to acknowledge God, and to demean himself religiously towards him. For God is to the understanding of man as the light of the sun is to our eyes—the first and the plainest and the most glorious object of it. He fills heaven and earth, and every thing in them does represent him to us. Which way soever we turn ourselves, we are encountered with clear evidences and sensible demonstrations of a Deity: for (as the apostle reasons) "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead; εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, so that they are without excuse;" Rom. i. 20.

that is, those men that know not God have no apology to make for themselves. Or if men do know and believe that there is such a being as God, not to consider the proper consequences of such a principle, not to demean ourselves towards him as becomes our relation to him and dependance upon him, and the duty which we naturally owe him, this is great stupidity and inconsiderateness.

And yet he that considers the lives and actions of the greatest part of men would verily think, that they understood nothing of all this. Therefore the Scripture represents wicked men as without understanding. "It is a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them:" and, elsewhere, "have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge?" Not that they are destitute of the natural faculty of understanding, but they do not use it as they ought; they are not blind, but they wink, they detain the truth of God in unrighteousness, and though they know God, yet they do not glorify him as God, nor suffer the apprehensions of him to have a due influence upon their hearts and lives.

Deut. xxxii. 28.

Psal. xiv. 4.

Men generally stand very much upon the credit and reputation of their understandings, and of all things in the world hate to be accounted fools, because it is so great a reproach. The best way to avoid this imputation, and to bring off the credit of our understandings, is to be truly religious, to fear the Lord, and to depart from evil. For certainly there is no such imprudent person as he that neglects God and his soul, and is careless and slothful about his everlasting concernments; because this man acts contrary to his truest reason and best interest;

he neglects his own safety, and is active to procure his own ruin; he flies from happiness and runs away from it as fast as he can, but pursues misery, and makes haste to be undone. Hence it is that Solomon does all along in the Proverbs give the title of fool to a wicked man, as if it were his proper name and the fittest character of him, because he is so eminently such: there is no fool to the sinner, who every moment ventures his soul, and lays his everlasting interest at the stake. Every time a man provokes God he does the greatest mischief to himself that can be imagined. A madman that cuts himself, and tears his own flesh, and dashes his head against the stones, does not act so unreasonably as he, because he is not so sensible of what he does. Wickedness is a kind of voluntary phrensy and a chosen distraction, and every sinner does wilder and more extravagant things than any man can do that is crazed and out of his wits, only with this sad difference, that he knows better what he does. For to them who believe another life after this, an eternal state of happiness or misery in another world, (which is but a reasonable postulatum or demand among Christians) there is nothing in mathematics more demonstrable than the folly of wicked men; for it is not a clearer and more evident principle, that the whole is greater than a part, than that eternity, and the concernments of it, are to be preferred before time.

I will therefore put the matter into a temporal case, that wicked men who understand any thing of the rules and principles of worldly wisdom may see the imprudence of an irreligious and sinful course, and be convinced that this their way is their folly, even themselves being judges.

Is that man wise, as to his body and his health, who only clothes his hands, but leaves his whole body naked? who provides only against the tooth-ache, and neglects whole troops of mortal diseases that are ready to rush in upon him? Just thus does he who takes care only for this vile body, but neglects his precious and immortal soul; who is very solicitous to prevent small and temporal inconveniences, but takes no care to escape the damnation of hell.

Is he a prudent man, as to his temporal estate, that lays designs only for a day, without any prospect to, or provision for, the remaining part of his life? even so does he that provides for the short time of his life, but takes no care for all eternity; which is to be wise for a moment, but a fool for ever, and to act as untowardly and as crossly to the reason of things as can be imagined—to regard time as if it were eternity, and to neglect eternity as if it were but a short time.

Do we count him a wise man, who is wise in any thing but in his own proper profession and employment, wise for every body but himself? who is ingenious to contrive his own misery and to do himself a mischief—but is dull and stupid as to the designing of any real benefit and advantage to himself? Such a one is he, who is ingenious in his calling, but a bad Christian; for Christianity is more our proper calling and profession than the very trades we live upon: and such is every sinner, who is "wise to do evil, but to do good hath no understanding."

Is it wisdom in any man to neglect and disoblige Him, who is his best friend, and can be his sorest enemy? or with one weak troop to go out to meet him that comes against him with thousands of thou-

sands? to fly a small danger and run upon a greater? Thus does every wicked man that neglects and contemns God, who can save or destroy him; who strives with his Maker and provoketh the Lord to jealousy, and with the small and inconsiderable forces of a man takes the field against the mighty God, the Lord of hosts; who fears them that can kill the body, but after that have no more that they can do; but fears not him, who after he hath killed, can destroy both body and soul in hell; and thus does he who, for fear of any thing in this world, ventures to displease God; for, in so doing, he runs away from men, and falls into the hands of the living God: he flies from a temporal danger, and leaps into hell.

Is not he an imprudent man, who, in matters of greatest moment and concernment, neglects opportunities never to be retrieved; who, standing upon the shore, and seeing the tide making haste towards him apace, and that he hath but a few minutes to save himself, yet will lay himself to sleep there till the cruel sea rush in upon him and overwhelm him? And is he any better, who trifles away this day of God's grace and patience, and foolishly adjourns the necessary work of repentance and the weighty business of religion to a dying hour?

And, to put an end to these questions, is he wise, who hopes to attain the end without the means, nay, by means that are quite contrary to it? such is every wicked man, who hopes to be blessed hereafter without being holy here, and to be happy, that is, to find a pleasure in the enjoyment of God, and in the company of holy spirits, by rendering himself as unsuitable and unlike to them as he can.

Wouldst thou then be truly wise? be wise for

thyself, wise for thy soul, wise for eternity. Resolve upon a religious course of life. "Fear God, and depart from evil." Look beyond things present and sensible, unto things which are not seen and are eternal; labour to secure the great interests of another world, and refer all the actions of this short and dying life to that state which will shortly begin, but never have an end: and this will approve itself to be wisdom at the last, whatever the world judge of it now. For not that which is approved of men now, but what shall finally be approved by God, is true wisdom: that which is esteemed so by him, who is the fountain and original of all wisdom, the first rule and measure, the best and most competent judge of it.

I deny not but those that are wicked and neglect religion may think themselves wise, and may enjoy this their delusion for a while: but there is a time coming when the most profane and atheistical, who now account it a piece of gallantry, and an argument of a great spirit, and of a more than common wit and understanding, to slight God and to baffle religion, and to level all the discourses of another world with the poetical descriptions of the fairy-land; I say, there is a day coming, when all those witty fools shall be unhappily undeceived, and, not being able to enjoy their delusion any longer, shall call themselves fools for ever.

But why should I use so much importunity to persuade men to that which is so excellent, so useful, and so necessary? The thing itself hath allurements in it beyond all arguments: for if religion be the best knowledge and wisdom, I cannot offer any thing beyond this to your understandings to raise

your esteem of it—I can present nothing beyond this to your affections to excite your love and desire. All that can be done is to set the thing before men, and to offer it to their choice; and, if men's natural desire of wisdom and knowledge, and happiness, will not persuade them to be religious, it is in vain to use arguments; if the sight of these beauties will not charm men's affections, it is to no purpose to go about to compel a liking, and to urge and push forward a match, to the making whereof consent is necessary. Religion is matter of our freest choice, and if men will obstinately and wilfully set themselves against it there is no remedy. "Pertinaciæ nullum remedium posuit Deus," God has provided no remedy for the obstinacy of men:—but if they will choose to be fools, and to be miserable, he will leave them to inherit their own choice, and to enjoy the portion of sinners.

SERMON II.

THE FOLLY OF SCOFFING AT RELIGION.

Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.—2 PET. iii. 3.

KNOWING this first. In the verse before, the apostle was speaking of a famous prophecy, before the accomplishment of which this sort of men whom he calls scoffers should come. "That ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the apostles of our Lord and Saviour; knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers," &c.

The prophecy here spoken of is probably that famous prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, which is in the prophet Daniel, and before the fulfilling whereof, our Saviour expressly tells us, "false prophets should arise, and deceive many."

Mat. xxiv. 11.

Now the scoffers here spoken of are the false teachers whom the apostle had been describing all along in the foregoing chapter; "there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you." These, he tells us, should proceed to that height of impiety as to scoff at the principles of religion, and to deride the ex-

pectation of a future judgment. "In the last days shall come scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming?"

In speaking to these words, I shall do these three things.

1. Consider the nature of the sin here mentioned, which is scoffing at religion.

2. The character of the persons that are charged with the guilt of this sin—they are said to walk after their own lusts.

3. I shall represent to you the heinousness and the aggravations of this vice.

I. First, We will consider the nature of the sin here mentioned, which is scoffing at religion. "There shall come scoffers." These it seems were a sort of people that derided our Saviour's prediction of his coming to judge the world. So the apostle tells us in the next words, that they said, "Where is the promise of his coming?" 2 Thes. ii. 2.

In those times there was a common persuasion among Christians, "that the day of the Lord was at hand," as the apostle elsewhere tells us. Now this, it is probable, these scoffers twitted the Christians withal: and because Christ did not come when some looked for him, they concluded he would not come at all. Upon this they derided the Christians as enduring persecution in a vain expectation of that which was never likely to happen. They saw all things continue as they were from the beginning of the world, notwithstanding the apprehensions of Christians concerning the approaching end of it; "For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were, from the beginning of the world." "Since the fathers fell asleep," ἀφ' ἧς, which may either

be rendered from the time, or else (which seems more agreeable to the atheistical discourse of these men) saving or except that the fathers are fallen asleep, all things continue as they were. Saving that men die, and one generation succeeds another, they saw no change or alteration. They looked upon all things as going on in a constant course; one generation of men passed away, and another came in the room of it, but the world remained still as it was. And thus, for aught they knew, things might hold on for ever. So that the principles of these men seem to be much the same with those of the Epicureans, who denied the providence of God and the immortality of men's souls; and consequently a future judgment, which should sentence men to rewards and punishments in another world. These great and fundamental principles of all religion they derided as the fancies and dreams of a company of melancholy men, who were weary of the world, and pleased themselves with vain conceits of happiness and ease in another life. But as for them, they believed none of these things; and therefore gave all manner of licence and indulgence to their lusts.

But this belongs to the second thing I propounded to speak to, namely,

II. The character which is here given of these scoffers; they are said to walk after their own lusts. And no wonder, if, when they denied a future judgment, they gave up themselves to all manner of sensuality.

St. Jude, in his Epistle, gives much the same character of them that St. Peter here does, ver. 18, 19. "There shall come in the last days mockers, walk-

ing after their own ungodly lusts, sensual, not having the Spirit." So that we see what kind of persons they are who profanely scoff at religion, men of sensual spirits and of licentious lives. For this character, which the apostle here gives of the scoffers of that age, was not an accidental thing which happened to those persons, but is the constant character of them who deride religion, and flows from the very temper and disposition of those who are guilty of this impiety; it is both the usual preparation to it, and the natural consequence of it.

To deride God and religion is the highest kind of impiety. And men do not usually arrive to this degree of wickedness at first, but they come to it by several steps. The Psalmist very elegantly expresseth to us the several gradations by which men at last come to this horrid degree of impiety: "Blessed is the man that walketh not Psalm i. 1. in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful." Men are usually first corrupted by bad counsel and company, which is called "walking in the counsel of the ungodly;" next they habituate themselves to their vicious practices, which is standing in the way of sinners, and then at last they take up and settle in a contempt of all religion, which is called "sitting in the seat of the scornful."

For when men once indulge themselves in wicked courses, the vicious inclinations of their minds sway their understandings, and make them apt to disbelieve those truths which contradict their lusts. Every inordinate lust and passion is a false bias upon men's understandings which naturally draws toward atheism: and when men's judgments are once biassed they do not believe according to the

evidence of things, but according to their humour and their interest. For when men live as if there were no God it becomes expedient for them that there should be none: and then they endeavour to persuade themselves so, and will be glad to find arguments to fortify themselves in this persuasion. Men of dissolute lives cry down religion, because they would not be under the restraints of it; they are loth to be tied up by the strict laws and rules of it: it is their interest more than any reason they have against it which makes them despise it; they hate it because they are reproved by it. So our Saviour tells us, that "men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; for every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."

John iii. 19, 20.

I remember it is the saying of one, who hath done more by his writings to debauch the age with atheistical principles than any man that lives in it, "that when reason is against a man, then a man will be against reason." I am sure this is the true account of such men's enmity to religion—religion is against them, and therefore they set themselves against religion. The principles of religion and the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures are terrible enemies to wicked men; they are continually flying in their faces, and galling their consciences: and this is that which makes them kick against religion, and spurn at the doctrines of that holy book. And this may probably be one reason why many men, who are observed to be sufficiently dull in other matters, yet can talk profanely and speak against religion with some kind of salt and smartness, because religion is the thing that frets them; and as in other things so in this,

vexatio dat intellectum, the inward trouble and vexation of their minds gives them some kind of wit and sharpness in rallying upon religion. Their consciences are galled by it, and this makes them winch and fling as if they had some mettle. For let men pretend what they will, there is no ease and comfort of mind to be had from atheistical principles. It is found by experience, that none are more apprehensive of danger or more fearful of death than this sort of men: even when they are in prosperity they ever and anon feel many inward stings and lashes, but when any great affliction or calamity overtakes them, they are the most poor-spirited creatures in the whole world.

The sum is; the true reason why any man is an atheist is because he is a wicked man. Religion would curb him in his lusts, and therefore he casts it off and puts all the scorn upon it he can. Besides that, men think it some kind of apology for their vices that they do not act contrary to any principle they profess: their practice is agreeable to what they pretend to believe, and so they think to vindicate themselves and their own practices by laughing at those for fools who believe any thing to the contrary.

III. The third thing I propounded was, to represent to you the heinousness and the aggravations of this vice. And to make this out we will make these three suppositions, which are as many as the thing will bear.

1. Suppose there were no God, and that the principles of religion were false.

2. Suppose the matter were doubtful, and the arguments equal on both sides.

3. Suppose it certain that there is a God, and that

the principles of religion are true. Put the case how we will, I shall shew that the humour is intolerable.

1. Suppose there were no God, and that the principles of religion were false. Not that there is any reason for such a supposition, but only to shew the unreasonableness of this humour; put the case that these men were in the right, in denying the principles of religion, and that all that they pretend were true; yet so long as the generality of mankind believes the contrary, it is certainly a great rudeness, or incivility at least, to deride and scoff at these things. Indeed, upon this supposition, there could be no such thing as sin, but yet it would be a great offence against the laws of civil conversation. Suppose then the atheist were wiser than all the world, and that he did upon good grounds know that all mankind, besides himself and two or three more, were mistaken about the matters of religion: yet if he were either so wise, or so civil as he should be, he would keep all this to himself, and not affront other men about these things.

I remember that that law which God gave to the people of Israel, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the rulers of thy people;" is rendered by Josephus in a very different sense: "What other nations account gods, let no man blaspheme." And this is not so different from the Hebrew as at first sight one would imagine; for the same Hebrew word signifies both gods and rulers. But whether this be the meaning of that law or not, there is a great deal of reason in the thing. For though every man have a right to dispute against a false religion, and to urge it with all its absurd and ridiculous consequences, as the ancient fathers did in their disputes with the heathen: yet it is a barbarous incivility for any man scurrilously to make sport with that which others ac-

count religion, not with any design to convince their reason, but only to provoke their rage.

But now the atheist can pretend no obligation of conscience why he should so much as dispute against the principles of religion, much less deride them. He that pretends to any religion may pretend conscience for opposing a contrary religion: but he that denies all religion, can pretend no conscience for any thing. A man may be obliged indeed in reason and common humanity to free his neighbour from a hurtful error; but supposing there were no God, this notion of a Deity and the principles of religion have taken such deep root in the mind of man, that either they are not to be extinguished, or if they be, it would be no kindness to any man to endeavour it for him, because it is not to be done but with so much trouble and violence, that the remedy would be worse than the disease.

For if this notion of a Deity be founded in a natural fear, it is in vain to attempt to expel it; for whatever violence may be offered to nature by endeavouring to reason men into a contrary persuasion, nature will still recoil, and at last return to itself, and then the fear will be augmented from the apprehension of the dangerous consequences of such an impiety. So that nothing can create more trouble to a man than to endeavour to dispossess him of this conceit, because nature is but irritated by the contest, and the man's fears will be doubled upon him.

But if we suppose this apprehension of a Deity to have no foundation in nature, but to have had its rise from tradition which hath been confirmed in the world by the prejudice of education, the difficulty of removing it will almost be as great as if it were natural, that which men take in by education being

next to that which is natural. And if it could be extinguished, yet the advantage of it will not recompense the trouble of the cure. For, except the avoiding of persecution for religion, there is no advantage that the principles of atheism, if they could be quietly settled in a man's mind, can give him. The advantage indeed that men make of them is to give themselves the liberty to do what they please, to be more sensual and more unjust than other men; that is, they have the privilege to surfeit themselves, and to be sick oftener than other men, and to make mankind their enemy by their unjust and dishonest actions, and consequently to live more uneasily in the world than other men.

So that the principles of religion, the belief of a God, and another life, by obliging men to be virtuous do really promote their temporal happiness. And all the privilege that atheism pretends to is to let men loose to vice, which is naturally attended with temporal inconveniences. And if this be true, then the atheist cannot pretend this reason of charity to mankind (which is the only one I can think of) to dispute against religion, much less to rally upon it. For it is plain, that it would be no kindness to any man to be undeceived in these principles of religion, supposing they were false; because the principles of religion are so far from hindering, that they promote a man's happiness even in this world, and as to the other world there can be no inconvenience in the mistake; for when a man is not, it will be no trouble to him that he was once deceived about these matters.

And where no obligation of conscience nor of reason can be pretended, there certainly the laws of civility ought to take place. Now men do profess

to believe that there is a God, and that the common principles of religion are true, and to have a great veneration for these things. Can there then be a greater insolence, than for a man when he comes into company to rally and fall foul upon those things for which he knows the company have a reverence? Can one man offer a greater affront to another, than to expose to scorn him whom he owns and declares to be his best friend, the patron of his life, and the greatest benefactor he hath in the world? And doth not every man that owns a God say this of him?

But when the generality of mankind are of the same opinion the rudeness is still the greater. So that whoever doth openly contemn God and religion does *delinquere in majestatem populi et humani generis*, he does offend against the majesty of the people, and that reverence which is due to the common apprehensions of mankind, whether they be true or not; which is the greatest incivility that can be imagined.

This is the first consideration, and it is the least that I have to urge in this matter; but yet I have insisted the longer upon it, because it is such a one as ought especially to prevail upon those who I am afraid are too often guilty of this vice—I mean those who are of better breeding, because they pretend to understand the laws of behaviour and the decencies of conversation better than other men.

2. Supposing it were doubtful whether there be a God or not, and whether the principles of religion were true or not, and that the arguments were equal on both sides; yet it would be a great folly to deride these things. And here I suppose as much as the atheist can, with any other colour of reason, pretend to. For no man ever yet pretended

to demonstrate that there is no God, nor no life after this. For these being pure negatives are capable of no proof, unless a man could shew them to be plainly impossible. The utmost that is pretended is that the arguments that are brought for these things are not sufficient to convince. But if they were only probable, so long as no arguments are produced to the contrary, that cannot in reason be denied to be a great advantage.

But I will for the present suppose the probabilities equal on both sides. And upon this supposition I doubt not to make it appear to be a monstrous folly to deride these things. Because, though the arguments on both sides were equal, yet the danger and hazard is infinitely unequal.

If it prove true that there is no God, the religious man may be as happy in this world as the atheist; nay, the principles of religion and virtue do in their own nature tend to make him happier: because they give satisfaction to his mind, and his conscience by this means is freed from many fearful goads and twinges which the atheist feels. Besides that, the practice of religion and virtue doth naturally promote our temporal felicity. It is more for a man's health, and more for his reputation, and more for his advantage in all other worldly respects, to lead a virtuous than a vicious course of life. And for the other world, if there be no God, the case of the religious man and the atheist will be alike, because they will both be extinguished by death, and insensible of any farther happiness or misery.

But then if the contrary opinion should prove true, that there is a God; and that the souls of men are transmitted out of this world into the other, there to receive the just reward of their actions; then it is

plain to every man, at first sight, that the case of the religious man and the atheist must be vastly different; then where shall the wicked and the ungodly appear? And what think we shall be the portion of those who have affronted God, and derided his word, and made a mock of every thing that is sacred and religious? What can they expect but to be rejected by him whom they have renounced, and to feel the terrible effects of that power and justice which they have despised? So that though the arguments on both sides were equal, yet the danger is not so. On the one side there is none at all, but it is infinite on the other. And, consequently, it must be a monstrous folly for any man to make a mock of those things which he knows not whether they be or not; and, if they be, of all things in the world they are no jesting matters.

3. Suppose there be a God, and that the principles of religion are true, then is it not only a heinous impiety but a perfect madness to scoff at these things. And that there is a God, and that the principles of religion are true, I have already in my former discourse endeavoured to prove, both from the things which are made, and from the general consent of mankind in these principles; of which universal consent no sufficient reason can be given unless they were true. And, supposing they are so, it is not only the utmost pitch of impiety, but the highest flight of folly, that can be imagined, to deride these things. To be disobedient to the commands of God is a great contempt; but to deny his being, and to make sport with his word, and to endeavour to render it ridiculous, by turning the wise and weighty sayings of that holy book into raillery, is a most direct affront to the God that is above. Thus the Psalmist de-

scribes these atheistical persons as levelling their blasphemies immediately against the Majesty of heaven. "They set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth;" they do mischief among men, but the affront is immediately to God.

Besides that, this profane spirit is an argument of a most incorrigible temper. The wise man every where speaks of the scorner as one of the worst sort of sinners and hardest to be reclaimed, because he despiseth instruction and mocks at all the means whereby he should be reformed.

And then, is it not a most black and horrid ingratitude thus to use the Author of our beings and the patron of our lives? to make a scorn of him that made us, and to live in an open defiance of Him, in whom we live, move, and have our beings? But this is not all. As it is a most heinous so it is a most dangerous impiety, to despise him that can destroy us, and to oppose him who is infinitely more powerful than we are. "Will ye (says the apostle) provoke the Lord to jealousy? are ye stronger than he?" What Gamaliel said to the Jews, in another case, may with a little change be applied to this sort of men: if there be a God, and the principles of religion be true, "ye cannot overthrow them; therefore refrain from speaking against these things, lest you be found fighters against God."

I will but add one thing more, to shew the folly of this profane temper. And that is this:—that as it is the greatest of all other sins, so there is in truth the least temptation to it. When the devil tempts men with riches or honour to ruin themselves, he offers them some kind of consideration: but the profane person serves the devil for nought, and sins only

for sin's sake, suffers himself to be tempted to the greatest sins, and into the greatest dangers, for no other reward but the slender reputation of seeming to say that wittily which no wise man would say. And what a folly is this, for a man to offend his conscience to please his humour, and only for his jest to lose two of the best friends he hath in the world--God and his own soul?

I have done with the three things I propounded to speak to upon this argument. And now I beg your patience to apply what I have said to these three purposes.

1. To take men off from this impious and dangerous folly of profaneness, which by some is miscalled wit.

2. To caution men not to think the worse of religion, because some are so bold as to despise and deride it.

3. To persuade men to employ that reason and wit which God hath given them, to better and nobler purposes, in the service and to the glory of that God who hath bestowed these gifts on men.

1. To take men off from this impious and dangerous folly. I know not how it comes to pass, that some men have the fortune to be esteemed wits only for jesting out of the common road, and for making bold to scoff at those things, which the greatest part of mankind reverence. As if a man should be accounted a wit for reviling those in authority, which is no more an argument of any man's wit than it is of his discretion. A wise man would not speak contemptuously of a great prince though he were out of his dominions, because he remembers that kings have long hands, and that their power and influence does many times reach a great way farther than their di-

rect authority. But "God is a great king, and in his hands are all the corners of the earth; we can go no whither from his Spirit, nor can we flee from his presence;" wherever we are his eyes see us, and his right hand can reach us. If men did truly consult the interest, either of their safety or reputation, they would never exercise their wit in dangerous matters. Wit is a very commendable quality, but then a wise man should always have the keeping of it. It is a sharp weapon, as apt for mischief as for good purposes, if it be not well managed. The proper use of it is to season conversation, to represent what is praiseworthy to the greatest advantage, and to expose the vices and follies of men, such things as are in themselves truly ridiculous: but if it be applied to the abuse of the gravest and most serious matters it then loses its commendation. If any man think he abounds in this quality, and hath wit to spare, there is scope enough for it within the bounds of religion and decency; and when it transgresseth these it degenerates into insolence and impiety. All wit, which borders upon profaneness, and makes bold with those things to which the greatest reverence is due, deserves to be branded for folly.

And if we would preserve ourselves from the infection of this vice we must take heed how we scoff at religion, under any form, lest insensibly we derive some contempt upon religion itself. And we must likewise take heed how we accustom ourselves to a slight and irreverent use of the name of God, and of the phrases and expressions of the Holy Bible, which ought not to be applied upon every light occasion. Men will easily slide into the highest degree of profaneness, who are not careful to preserve a due reverence of the great and glorious name of God, and an

awful regard to the Holy Scriptures. None are so nearly disposed to scoffing at religion, as those who have accustomed themselves to swear upon trifling occasions. For it is just with God to permit those who allow themselves in one degree of profaneness to proceed to another, till at last they come to that height of impiety as to contemn all religion.

2. Let no man think the worse of religion, because some are so bold as to despise and deride it. For it is no disparagement to any person or thing to be laughed at, but to deserve to be so. The most grave and serious matters in the whole world are liable to be abused. It is a known saying of Epictetus, " that every thing hath two handles ;" by which he means, that there is nothing so bad but a man may lay hold of something or other about it that will afford matter of excuse and extenuation, nor nothing so excellent but a man may fasten upon something or other belonging to it whereby to traduce it. A sharp wit may find something in the wisest men whereby to expose him to the contempt of injudicious people. The gravest book that ever was written may be made ridiculous by applying the sayings of it to a foolish purpose: for a jest may be obtruded upon any thing. And therefore no man ought to have the less reverence for the principles of religion, or for the Holy Scriptures, because idle and profane wits can break jests upon them. Nothing is so easy as to take particular phrases and expressions out of the best book in the world, and to abuse them by forcing an odd and ridiculous sense upon them. But no wise man will think a good book foolish for this reason, but the man that abuses it; nor will he esteem that, to which every thing is liable, to be a just exception against any thing. At this

rate we must despise all things, but surely the better and the shorter way is to contemn those who would bring any thing that is worthy into contempt.

3. And lastly, to persuade men to employ that reason and wit which God hath given them to better and nobler purposes, in the service and to the glory of that God who hath bestowed these gifts on men, as Aholiab and Bezaleel did their mechanical skill in the adorning and beautifying of God's tabernacle. For this is the perfection of every thing, to attain its true and proper end; and the end of all those gifts and endowments, which God hath given us, is to glorify the giver.

Here is subject enough to exercise the wit of men and angels: to praise that infinite goodness, and almighty power, and exquisite wisdom which made us and all things; and to admire what we can never sufficiently praise; to vindicate the wise and just providence of God, in the government of the world; and to endeavour as well as we can, upon an imperfect view of things, to make out the beauty and harmony of all the seeming discords and irregularities of the Divine administrations; to explain the oracles of the Holy Scriptures, and to adore that great mystery of Divine love (which the angels, better and nobler creatures than we are, desire to pry into), God's sending his only Son into the world to save sinners, and to give his life a ransom for them. These would be noble exercises indeed for the tongues and pens of the greatest wits; and subjects of this nature are the best trials of our ability in this kind. Satire and invective are the easiest kind of wit. Almost any degree of it will serve to abuse and find fault: for wit is a keen instrument, and every one can cut and gash with it; but to carve

a beautiful image, and to polish it, requires great art and dexterity. To praise any thing well is an argument of much more wit than to abuse. A little wit and a great deal of ill-nature will furnish a man for satire, but the greatest instance of wit is to commend well. And perhaps the best things are the hardest to be duly commended: for though there be a great deal of matter to work upon, yet there is great judgment required to make choice. And where the subject is great and excellent it is hard not to sink below the dignity of it.

This I say on purpose to recommend to men a nobler exercise for their wits, and if it be possible to put them out of conceit with that scoffing humour, which is so easy and so ill-natured, and is not only an enemy to religion, but to every thing else that is wise and worthy. And I am very much mistaken if the state, as well as the church, the civil government as well as religion, do not in a short space find the intolerable inconvenience of this humour.

But I confine myself to the consideration of religion. And it is sad, indeed, that in a nation professing Christianity so horrid an impiety should dare to appear. But the Scripture hath foretold us, that this sort of men should arise in the gospel age, and they did appear even in the apostles' days. That which is more sad and strange is, that we should persist in this profaneness, notwithstanding the terrible judgments of God which have been abroad in this nation. God hath of late years manifested himself in a very dreadful manner, as if it were on purpose to give a check to this insolent impiety. And now that those judgments have done no good upon us we may justly fear that he will appear once for all. And it is time for him to shew himself when

his very being is called in question, and to come and judge the world when men begin to doubt whether he made it.

The Scripture mentions two things as the forerunners and reasons of his coming to judgment—infidelity and profane scoffing at religion. "When the Son of Man comes, shall he find faith on the earth?" And St. Jude out of an ancient prophecy of Enoch expressly mentions this as one reason of the coming of the Lord, "to convince ungodly sinners of all their hard speeches which they had spoken against him."

Luke xviii. 8.

Jude 18.

And if these things be a sign and reason of his coming, I wish that we in this age had not too much cause to apprehend the Judge to be at the door. This impiety did forerun the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter ruin of the Jewish nation. And if it hold on amongst us, may not we have reason to fear, that either "the end of all things is at hand," or that some very dismal calamity greater than any our eyes have yet seen does hang over us? But I would fain hope that God hath mercy still for us, and that men will pity themselves, "and repent, and give glory to God," and "know in this their day the things that belong to their peace." Which God of his infinite mercy grant for the sake of Christ; to whom, with the Father, &c.

SERMON III.

THE ADVANTAGES OF RELIGION TO SOCIETIES.

Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is the reproach of any people.—PROV. xiv. 34.

ONE of the first principles that is planted in the nature of man, and which lies at the very root and foundation of his being, is the desire of his own preservation and happiness. Hence is it that every man is led by interest, and does love or hate, choose or refuse things, according as he apprehends them to conduce to this end, or to contradict it. And because the happiness of this life is most present and sensible, therefore human nature (which in this degenerate state is extremely sunk down into sense) is most powerfully affected with sensible and temporal things. And, consequently, there cannot be a greater prejudice raised against any thing than to have it represented as inconvenient and hurtful to our temporal interests.

Upon this account it is that religion hath extremely suffered in the opinion of many, as if it were opposite to our present welfare, and did rob men of the greatest advantages and conveniences of life. So that he that would do right to religion, and make a ready way for the entertainment of it among men, cannot take a more effectual course than by reconciling it with the happiness of mankind, and by giving satisfaction to our reason, that it is so far from being an enemy, that it is the greatest friend to our temporal inter-

ests; and that it doth not only tend to make every man happy, considered singly and in a private capacity, but is excellently fitted for the benefit of human society.

How much religion tends even to the temporal advantage of private persons I shall not now consider, because my text leads me to discourse of the other; namely, to shew how advantageous religion and virtue are to the public prosperity of a nation, which I take to be the meaning of this aphorism of Solomon, "Righteousness exalteth a nation," &c.

And here I shall not restrain righteousness to the particular virtue of justice (though in this sense also this saying is most true) but enlarge it according to the genius and strain of this book of the Proverbs, in which the words wisdom and righteousness are commonly used very comprehensively, so as to signify all religion and virtue. And that this word is so to be taken in the text may appear farther from the opposition of it to sin or vice in general; "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is the reproach of any people."

You see then what will be the subject of my present discourse; namely, That religion and virtue are the great causes of public happiness and prosperity.

And though the truth of this hath been universally acknowledged, and long enough experienced in the world, yet because the fashion of the age is to call every thing into question, it will be requisite to satisfy men's reason about it. To which end I shall do these two things:

I. Endeavour to give an account of this truth.

II. To vindicate it from the pretences and insinuations of atheistical persons.

I shall give you this twofold account of it.

1. From the justice of the Divine providence.
2. From the natural tendency of the thing.

1. From the justice of the Divine providence Indeed, as to particular persons the providences of God are many times promiscuously administered in this world; so that no man can certainly conclude God's love or hatred to any person by any thing that befals him in this life. But God does not deal thus with nations: because public bodies and communities of men, as such, can only be rewarded and punished in this world. For, in the next, all those public societies and combinations, wherein men are now linked together under several governments, shall be dissolved. God will not then reward or punish nations, as nations; but every man shall then give an account of himself to God, and receive his own reward, and bear his own burden. For, although God account it no disparagement to his justice to let particular good men suffer in this world, and pass through many tribulations into the kingdom of God, because there is another day a coming which will be a more proper season of reward; yet in the usual course of his providence he recompenseth religious and virtuous nations with temporal blessings and prosperity. For which reason St. Austin tells us, that the mighty success and long prosperity of the Romans was a reward given them by God, for their eminent justice and temperance, and other virtues. And, on the other hand, God many times suffers the most grievous sins of particular persons to go unpunished in this world, because he knows that his justice will have another and better opportunity to meet and reckon with them. But the general and crying sins of a nation cannot hope to escape public judgments, unless they be prevented by a general

repentance. God may defer his judgments for a time, and give a people a longer space of repentance; he may stay till the iniquities of a nation be full; but sooner or later they have reason to expect his vengeance. And usually, the longer punishment is delayed it is the heavier when it comes.

Now all this is very reasonable, because this world is the only season for national punishments. And indeed they are in a great degree necessary for the present vindication of the honour and majesty of the Divine laws, and to give some check to the overflowing of wickedness. Public judgments are the banks and shores upon which God breaks the insolency of sinners, and stays their proud waves. And though among men the multitude of offenders be many times a cause of impunity, because of the weakness of human governments, which are glad to spare where they are not strong enough to punish, yet in the government of God things are quite otherwise. No combination of sinners is too hard for him, and the greater and more numerous the offenders are, the more his justice is concerned to vindicate the affront. However God may pass by single sinners in this world, yet when a nation combines against him, "when hand joins in hand the wicked shall not go unpunished."

This the Scripture declares to be the settled course of God's providence; that a righteous nation shall be happy; "the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effects of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." And, on the other hand, that he useth to shower down his judgments upon a wicked people; "he turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

And the experience of all ages hath made this good. All along the history of the Old Testament we find the interchangeable providences of God towards the people of Israel always suited to their manners. They were constantly prosperous or afflicted, according as piety and virtue flourished or declined amongst them. And God did not only exercise this providence towards his own people, but he dealt thus also with other nations. The Roman empire, whilst the virtue of that people remained firm, was strong as iron, as it is represented in the prophecy of Daniel: but, upon the dissolution of their manners, the iron began to be mixed with miry clay, and the feet, upon which that empire stood, to be broken. And though God in the administration of his justice be not tied to precedents and we cannot argue from Scripture examples that the providence of God towards other nations shall in all circumstances be conformable to his dealings with the people of Israel; yet thus much may with great probability be collected from them, that as God always blessed that people, while they were obedient to him, and followed them with his judgments when they rebelled against him, so he will also deal with other nations. Because the reason of those dispensations as to the main and substance of them seems to be perpetual, and founded in that which can never change—the justice of the Divine providence.

2dly. The truth of this farther appears from the natural tendency of the thing. For religion in general, and every particular virtue, doth in its own nature conduce to the public interest.

Religion, wherever it is truly planted, is certainly the greatest obligation upon conscience to all civil offices and moral duties. Chastity, and

temperance, and industry, do in their own nature tend to health and plenty. Truth and fidelity in all our dealings do create mutual love, and goodwill, and confidence among men, which are the great bands of peace: and, on the contrary, wickedness doth in its own nature produce many public mischiefs. For as sins are linked together, and draw on one another, so almost every vice hath some temporal inconvenience annexed to it, and naturally following it. Intemperance and lust breed infirmities and diseases, which being propagated spoil the strain of a nation. Idleness and luxury bring forth poverty and want; and this tempts men to injustice, and that causeth enmity and animosities, and these bring on strife and confusion and every evil work. This philosophical account of public troubles and confusions St. James gives us:

James iv. 1. "Whence come wars and fightings among you? Are they not hence, even from your lusts that war in your members?"

But I shall shew more particularly, that religion and virtue do naturally tend to the good order and more easy government of human society, because they have a good influence both upon magistrates and subjects.

1. Upon magistrates. Religion teacheth them to rule over men in the fear of God, because though they be gods on earth, yet they are subjects of heaven, and accountable to Him, who is higher than the highest in this world. Religion in a magistrate strengthens his authority, because it procures veneration and gains a reputation to it. And in all the affairs of this world so much reputation is really so much power. We see that piety and virtue, where they are found among men of lower degree, will com-

mand some reverence and respect: but in persons of eminent place and dignity they are seated to a great advantage, so as to cast a lustre upon their very place, and by a strong reflection to double the beams of majesty; whereas impiety and vice do strangely lessen greatness, and do secretly and unavoidably derive some weakness upon authority itself. Of this the Scripture gives us a remarkable instance in David. For among other things which made "the sons of Zeruiah too hard for him," this probably was none of the least, that they were particularly conscious to his crimes.

2. Religion hath a good influence upon the people; to make them obedient to government, and peaceable one towards another.

1. To make them obedient to government and conformable to laws; and that not only for wrath and out of fear of the magistrate's power, which is but a weak and loose principle of obedience, and will cease whenever men can rebel with safety, and to advantage: but out of conscience, which is a firm and constant and lasting principle, and will hold a man fast when all other obligations will break. He that hath entertained the true principles of Christianity is not to be tempted from his obedience and subjection by any worldly considerations, because he believes that whosoever resisteth authority resisteth the ordinance of God, and that "they who resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

2. Religion tends to make men peaceable one towards another. For it endeavours to plant all those qualities and dispositions in men which tend to peace and unity, and to fill men with a spirit of universal love and good-will. It endeavours likewise to secure every man's interest by commanding the

observation of that great rule of equity, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;" by enjoining that truth and fidelity be inviolably observed in all our words, promises, and contracts. And, in order hereunto, it requires the extirpation of all those passions and vices which render men unsociable and troublesome to one another; as pride, covetousness, and injustice, hatred and revenge and cruelty: and those likewise which are not so commonly reputed vices, as self-conceit and peremptoriness in a man's own opinions, and all peevishness and incompliance of humour in things lawful and indifferent.

And that these are the proper effects of true piety the doctrine of our Saviour and his apostles every where teacheth us. Now if this be the design of religion to bring us to this temper, thus to heal the natures of men, and to sweeten their spirits, to correct their passions, and to mortify all those lusts which are the causes of enmity and division,—then it is evident, that in its own nature it tends to the peace and happiness of human society; and that if men would but live as religion requires they should do, the world would be a quiet habitation, a most lovely and desirable place in comparison of what now it is. And indeed the true reason why the societies of men are so full of tumult and disorder, so troublesome and tempestuous, is because there is so little of true religion among men: so that were it not for some small remainders of piety and virtue, which are yet left scattered among mankind, human society would in a short space disband and run into confusion, the earth would grow wild and become a great forest and mankind would become beasts of prey one towards another. And if this discourse hold true, sure

ly then one would think that virtue should find itself a seat wherever human societies are, and that religion should be owned and encouraged in the world until men cease to be governed by reason.

II. I come to vindicate this truth from the insinuations and pretences of atheistical persons. I shall mention two.

1. That government may subsist well enough without the belief of a God and a state of rewards and punishments after this life.

2. That as for virtue and vice they are arbitrary things.

1. That government may subsist well enough without the belief of a God or a state of rewards and punishments after this life. And this the atheist does and must assert, otherwise he is by his own confession a declared enemy to government and unfit to live in human society.

For answer to this, I will not deny that though the generality of men did not believe any superior Being, nor any rewards and punishments after this life, yet notwithstanding this there might be some kind of government kept up in the world. For supposing men to have reason, the necessities of human nature and the mischiefs of confusion would probably compel them into some kind of order. But then I say withal, that if these principles were banished out of the world, government would be far more difficult than now it is, because it would want its firmest basis and foundation; there would be infinitely more disorders in the world, if men were restrained from injustice and violence only by human laws, and not by principles of conscience and the dread of another world. Therefore magistrates have always thought themselves concerned to cherish religion, and to maintain

in the minds of men the belief of a God and another life. Nay, that common suggestion of atheistical persons, that religion was at first a politic device, and is still kept up in the world as a state-engine, to awe men into obedience, is a clear acknowledgment of the usefulness of it to the ends of government, and does as fully contradict that pretence of their's, which I am now confuting as any thing that can be said.

2. That virtue and vice are arbitrary things, founded only in the imaginations of men, and in the constitutions and customs of the world, but not in the nature of the things themselves; and that that is virtue or vice, good or evil, which the supreme authority of a nation declares to be so. And this is frequently and confidently asserted by the ingenious author of a very bad book,—I mean the Leviathan.

Now the proper way of answering any thing that is confidently asserted is to shew the contrary; namely, That there are some things that have a natural evil and deformity in them, as perjury, perfidiousness, unrighteousness, and ingratitude, which are things not only condemned by the positive laws and constitutions of particular nations and governments, but by the general verdict of human nature; and that the virtues contrary to these have a natural goodness and comeliness in them, and are suitable to the common principles and sentiments of humanity.

And this will most evidently appear by putting this supposition. Suppose the reverse of all that which we now call virtue were solemnly enacted, and the practice of fraud and rapine, and perjury, and falseness to a man's word, and all manner of vice and wickedness were established by a law; I ask now, if the case between virtue and vice were thus altered, would that which we now call vice, in process of

time gain the reputation of virtue, and that which we now call virtue grow odious and contemptible to human nature? If it would not, then is there something in the nature of good and evil, of virtue and vice, which does not depend upon the pleasure of authority, nor is subject to any arbitrary constitution. But that it would not be thus I am very certain, because no government could subsist upon these terms. For the very enjoining of fraud, and rapine, and perjury, and breach of trust, doth apparently destroy the greatest end of government, which is, to preserve men in their rights against the encroachments of fraud and violence: and this end being destroyed, human societies would presently fly in pieces, and men would necessarily fall into a state of war; which plainly shews, that virtue and vice are not arbitrary things, but that there is a natural and immutable and eternal reason for that which we call goodness and virtue, and against that which we call vice and wickedness.

Thus I have endeavoured to evidence and vindicate this truth. I shall only draw an inference or two from this discourse, and so conclude.

1. If this discourse be true, then those who are in place of power and authority are peculiarly concerned to maintain the honour of religion.

2. It concerns every one to live in the practice of it.

1. Magistrates are concerned to maintain the honour of religion, which doth not only tend to every man's future happiness, but is the best instrument of civil government and of the temporal prosperity of a nation. For the whole design of it is to procure the private and public happiness of mankind, and to restrain men from all those things which would make

them miserable and guilty to themselves, unpeaceable and troublesome to the world. Religion hath so great an influence upon the felicity of men that it ought to be upheld, and the veneration of it maintained, not only out of a just dread of the Divine vengeance in another world, but out of regard to the temporal peace and prosperity of men. It will requite all the kindness and honour we can do it, by the advantages it will bring to civil government, and by the blessings it will draw down upon it. God hath promised, that those that honour him he will honour; and in the common course of his providence he usually makes this good, so that the civil authority ought to be very tender of the honour of God and religion, if for no other reason, yet out of reason of state.

It were to be wished, that all men were so piously disposed, that religion by its own authority and the reasonable force of it might be sufficient to establish its empire in the minds of men: but the corruptions of men will always make a strong opposition against it. And therefore, at the first planting of the Christian religion in the world, God was pleased to accompany it with a miraculous power: but, after it was planted, this extraordinary power ceased, and God hath now left it to be maintained and supported by more ordinary and human ways, by the countenance of authority, and the assistance of laws; which were never more necessary than in this degenerate age, which is prodigiously sunk into atheism and profaneness, and is running headlong into a humour of scoffing at God and religion, and every thing that is sacred. For some ages before the Reformation, atheism was confined to Italy, and had its chief residence at Rome. All the mention that is of it in the history

of those times the papists themselves give us in the lives of their own popes and cardinals, excepting two or three small philosophers that were retainers to that court. So that this atheistical humour among Christians was the spawn of the gross superstitions and corrupt manners of the Romish church and court. And, indeed, nothing is more natural than for extremes in religion to beget one another, like the vibrations of a pendulum, which the more violently you swing it one way, the farther it will return the other. But in the last age, *Atheism* travelled over the Alps and infected France, and now of late it hath crossed the seas and invaded our nation, and hath prevailed to amazement: for I do not think that there are any people in the world that are generally more indisposed to it and can worse brook it; seriousness and zeal in religion being almost the natural temper of the English; so that nothing is to me matter of greater wonder, than that in a grave and sober nation, profaneness should ever come to gain so much ground, and the best and wisest religion in the world to be made the scorn of fools. For besides the profane and atheistical discourses about God and religion, and the bold and senseless abuses of this Sacred Book, the great instruments of our salvation, which are so frequent in the public places of resort; I say, besides these (I speak it knowingly,) a man can hardly pass the streets without having his ears grated and pierced with such horrid and blasphemous oaths and curses, as are enough, if we were guilty of no other sin, to sink a nation. And this not only from the tribe that wear liveries, but from those that go before them, and should give better example. Is it not then high time that the laws should provide, by the most prudent and effectual means, to curb these

bold and insolent defiers of Heaven, who take a pride in being monsters, and boast themselves in the follies and deformities of human nature. The heathens would never suffer their gods to be reviled, which yet were no gods: and shall it among the professors of the true religion be allowed to any man to make a mock of Him that made heaven and earth, and to breathe out blasphemies against Him who gives us life and breath and all things? I doubt not but hypocrisy is a great wickedness, and very odious to God, but by no means of so pernicious example as open profaneness. Hypocrisy is a more modest way of sinning, it shews some reverence to religion, and does so far own the worth and excellency of it, as to acknowledge that it deserves to be counterfeited; whereas profaneness declares openly against it, and endeavours to make a party to drive it out of the world.

2. It concerns every one to live in the practice of religion and virtue; because the public happiness and prosperity depends upon it. It is most apparent, that of late years religion is very sensibly declined among us. The manners of men have almost been universally corrupted by a civil war. We should therefore all jointly endeavour to retrieve the ancient virtue of the nation, and to bring into fashion again that solid and substantial, that plain and unaffected piety (free from the extremes both of superstition and enthusiasm), which flourished in the age of our immediate forefathers: which did not consist in idle talk, but in real effects, in a sincere love of God and of our neighbour, in a pious devotion and reverence towards the Divine Majesty, and in the virtuous actions of a good life; in the denial of ungodliness and worldly lusts, and "in living soberly and righteously and godly in this present

world." This were the true way to reconcile God to us, to stop the course of his judgments, and to bring down the blessings of Heaven upon us. God hath now been pleased to settle us again in peace, both at home and abroad, and he hath put us once more into the hands of our own counsel. Life and death, blessing and cursing, prosperity and destruction, are before us. We may choose our own fortune; and if we be not wanting to ourselves we may, under the influence of God's grace and assistance, which is never wanting to our sincere endeavours, become a happy and a prosperous people.

The good God make us all wise to know and to do the things that belong to the temporal peace and prosperity of the nation, and to the eternal happiness and salvation of every one of our souls; which we humbly beg for the sake of Jesus Christ; to whom, &c.

SERMON IV.

THE ADVANTAGE OF RELIGION TO PARTICULAR PERSONS.

And in keeping of them there is great reward.
PSALM xix. 11.

IN this psalm David celebrates the glory of God from the consideration of the greatness of his works and the perfection of his laws. From the greatness of his works, verse 1. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work," &c. From the perfection of his laws, ver. 7. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul," &c. And, among many other excellences of the Divine laws, he mentions in the last place the benefits and advantages which come from the observance of them, verse 11, "and in keeping of them there is great reward."

I have already shewn how much religion tends to the public welfare of mankind; to the support of government, and to the peace and happiness of human societies. My work at this time shall be to shew, that religion and obedience to the laws of God do likewise conduce to the happiness of particular persons, both in respect of this world and the other. For though there be but little express mention made in the Old Testament, of the immortality of the soul

and the rewards of another life, yet all religion does suppose these principles, and is built upon them.

I. And First, I shall endeavour to shew how religion conduceth to the happiness of this life; and that both in respect of the inward and outward man.

First, As to the mind; to be pious and religious brings a double advantage to the mind of man. 1. It tends to the improvement of our understandings. 2. It brings peace and pleasure to our minds.

1. It tends to the improvement of our understandings: I do not mean only that it instructs us in the knowledge of Divine and spiritual things, and makes us to understand the great interest of our souls and the concernments of eternity better, but that in general it does raise and enlarge the minds of men, and makes them more capable of true knowledge. And in this sense I understand the following texts: "The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; a good understanding have all they that keep his commandments." "Thou through thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies, (which plainly refers to political prudence;) I have more understanding than all my teachers, for thy testimonies are my meditation." "I understand more than the ancients, because I keep thy precepts." "Through thy precepts I get understanding." "The entrance of thy word giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple."

Psal. xix. 8. cxi. 10.

Psal. cxix. 98.

Ver. 99. 104. 130.

Now religion doth improve the understandings of men by subduing their lusts, and moderating their passions. The lusts and passions of men do sully and darken their minds, even by a natural influence.

Intemperance, sensuality, and fleshly lusts, do debase men's minds, and clog their spirits, make them gross and foul, listless and inactive; they sink us down into sense, and glue us to these low and inferior things like birdlime; they hamper and entangle our souls, and hinder their flight upwards; they indispose and unfit our minds for the most noble and intellectual considerations. So likewise the exorbitant passions of wrath and malice, envy and revenge, do darken and distort the understandings of men, do tincture the mind with false colours, and fill it with prejudice and undue apprehensions of things.

There is no man that is intemperate, or lustful, or passionate; but besides the guilt he contracts, which is continually fretting and disquieting his mind, besides the inconveniences he brings upon himself, as to his health, he does likewise stain and obscure the brightness of his soul and the clearness of his discerning faculty. Such persons have not that free use of their reason that they might have; their understandings are not bright enough, nor their spirits pure and fine enough for the exercise of the highest and noblest acts of reason. What clearness is to the eye, that purity is to our mind and understanding; and, as the clearness of the bodily eye doth dispose it for a quicker sight of material objects, so doth the purity of our minds, that is, freedom from lust and passion, dispose us for the clearest and most perfect acts of reason and understanding.

Now, religion doth purify our minds, and refine our spirits, by quenching the fire of lust, and suppressing the fumes and vapours of it, and by scattering the clouds and mists of passion. And the more

any man's soul is cleansed from the filth and dregs of sensual lusts, the more nimble and expedite it will be in its operations. The more any man conquers his passions, the more calm and sedate his spirit is, and the greater equality he maintains in his temper, his apprehensions of things will be the more clear and unprejudiced, and his judgment more firm and steady. And this is the meaning of that saying of Solomon, "He that is slow to wrath, is of great understanding; but he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly." Ira furor brevis est.—Anger is a short fit of madness, and he that is passionate and furious deprives himself of his reason, spoils his understanding, and helps to make himself a fool; whereas he that conquers his passions, and keeps them under, doth thereby preserve and improve his understanding. Freedom from irregular passions doth not only signify that a man is wise, but really contributes to the making of him such.

2. Religion tends to the ease and pleasure, the peace and tranquillity of our minds; wherein happiness chiefly consists, and which all the wisdom and philosophy of the world did always aim at, as the utmost felicity of this life. And that this is the natural fruit of a religious and virtuous course of life, the Scripture declares to us in these texts:—"Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart." "Great peace have all they that love thy law, and nothing shall offend them." "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." "The fruit of righteousness is peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever;" the plain sense of which text is, that pleasure and peace do naturally result from a

Psal. xcviii. 11. cxix. 165. Prov. iii. 17. Isa. xxiii. 17.

holy and good life. When a man hath once engaged himself in a religious course, and is habituated to piety and holiness, all the exercises of religion and devotion, all acts of goodness and virtue, are delightful to him. To honour and worship God, to pray to him and to praise him, to study his will, to meditate upon him and to love him, all these bring great pleasure and peace along with them. What greater contentment and satisfaction can there be to the mind of man, when it is once purified and refined from the dregs of sensual pleasures and delights, and raised to its true height and pitch, than to contemplate and admire the infinite excellences and perfections of God, to adore his greatness, and to love his goodness? How can the thoughts of God be troublesome to any one who lives soberly, and righteously, and godly in the world? No man that loves goodness and righteousness, hath any reason to be afraid of God, or to be disquieted with the thoughts of him. There is nothing in God that is terrible to a good man; but all the apprehensions, which we naturally have of him, speak comfort and promise happiness to such a one. The consideration of his attributes, is so far from being a trouble to him, that it is his recreation and delight. It is for wicked men to dread God, and to endeavour to banish the thoughts of him out of their minds; but a holy and virtuous man may have quiet and undisturbed thoughts even of the justice of God, because the terror of it doth not concern him.

Now religion doth contribute to the peace and quiet of our minds these two ways. First, By allaying those passions, which are apt to ruffle and discompose our spirits. Malice and hatred, wrath and revenge, are very fretting and vexatious, and apt to

make our minds sore and uneasy; but he that can moderate these affections, will find a strange ease and pleasure in his own spirit. Secondly, By freeing us from the anxieties of guilt, and the fears of Divine wrath and displeasure; than which nothing is more stinging and tormenting, and renders the life of man more miserable and unquiet. And what a spring of peace and joy must it needs be, to apprehend upon good grounds that God is reconciled to us, and become our friend; that all our sins are perfectly forgiven, and shall never more be remembered against us! What inexpressible comfort does overflow the pious and devout soul from the remembrance of a holy and well-spent life, and a conscience of its own innocency and integrity! And nothing but the practice of religion and virtue can give this ease and satisfaction to the mind of man. For there is a certain kind of temper and disposition, which is necessary to the pleasure and quiet of our minds, and consequently to our happiness; and that is holiness and goodness, which, as it is the perfection, so it is likewise the happiness of the Divine nature: and, on the contrary, the chief part of the misery of wicked men, and of those accursed spirits, the devils, is this—that they are of a disposition contrary to God; they are envious and malicious and cruel, and of such a temper, as is naturally a torment and disquiet to itself. And here the foundation of hell is laid, in the evil disposition of men's minds; and, till this be cured, which can only be done by religion, it is as impossible for a man to be happy, that is pleased and contented within himself, as it is for a sick man to be at ease. Because such a man hath that within him, which torments him, and he cannot be at ease till that be removed. The

man's spirit is out of order and off the hinges, and till that be put in its right frame, he will be perpetually disquieted, and can find no rest within himself. The prophet very fitly describes to us the unquiet condition of wicked men: "The wicked is like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt; there is no peace (saith my God) to the wicked." So long as sin and corruption abound in our hearts they will be restlessly working, like wine which will be in a perpetual motion and agitation, till it have purged itself of its dregs and foulness.

Isa. lvii. 20, 21.

Secondly, Religion does likewise tend to the happiness of the outward man. Now the blessings of this kind are such as either respect our health or estate, or reputation or relations; and in respect of all these religion is highly advantageous to us.

1. As to our health, a religious and virtuous life doth eminently conduce to that, and to long life as a consequent of it. And in this sense I understand these following texts: "My son, forget not my law, but let thy heart keep my commandments; for length of days and long life shall they add to thee;" and, (ver. 7 and 8.) "Fear the Lord, and depart from evil, it shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones;" and (ver. 16.) among the temporal advantages of wisdom or religion this is mentioned as the first and principal: "Length of days is in her right hand;" and, (ver. 18.) "She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her;" and, again, "Whoso findeth me, findeth life; but he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul" (that is, is injurious to his own life). "All they that hate me love death:" all which is undoubtedly true in a spiritual sense, but is certainly

Prov. iii. 1, 2.

Prov. viii. 35, 36.

meant by Solomon in the natural sense. And these promises of the blessings of health and long life to good men are not only declaratory of the good pleasure and intention of God towards them, but likewise of the natural tendency of the thing. For religion doth oblige men to the practice of those virtues which do in their own nature conduce to the preservation of our health and the lengthening of our days; such as temperance and chastity, and the moderation of our passions; and the contrary vices to these do apparently tend to the impairing of men's health and the shortening of their days. How many have wasted and consumed their bodies by lust, and brought grievous pains and mortal diseases upon themselves. See how the wise man describes the sad consequences of this sin: "He goes as an ox to the slaughter, till a dart strike through his liver; as a bird hasteneth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life;" and, (ver. 25, 26, 27.) "Let not thy heart decline to her ways, go not astray in her paths; for she hath cast down many wounded; yea, many strong men have been slain by her; her house is the way to hell," (that is, to the grave) "going down to the chambers of death." How many have been ruined by intemperance and excess, and most unnaturally have perverted those blessings which God hath given for the support of nature to the overthrow and destruction of it? How often hath men's malice and envy and discontent against others terminated in a cruel revenge upon themselves? How many, by the wild fury and extravagancy of their own passions, have put their bodies into a combustion, and fired their spirits; and, by stirring up their rage and choler against others, have armed that fierce humour against themselves.

Prov. vii. 22, 23.

2. As to our estates, religion is a mighty advantage to men in that respect. Not only in regard of God's more especial providence and peculiar blessing, which usually attends good men in their undertakings, and crowns them with good success, but also from the nature of the thing. And this, I doubt not, is the meaning of those expressions of the wise man concerning the temporal benefits and advantages of wisdom or religion: "In her left hand are riches and honour." "They that love me shall inherit substance, and I will fill their treasures." And this religion principally does, by charging men with truth and fidelity and justice in their dealings, which are a sure way of thriving, and will hold out when all fraudulent arts and devices will fail. And this also Solomon observes to us: "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely; but he that perverteth his way shall be known:" his indirect dealing will be discovered, one time or other, and then he loses his reputation, and his interest sinks. Falsehood and deceit only serve a present turn, and the consequence of them is pernicious; but truth and fidelity are a lasting advantage: "The righteous hath an everlasting foundation." "The lip of truth is established for ever; but a lying tongue is but for a moment." And religion does likewise engage men to diligence and industry in their callings, and how much this conduces to the advancement of men's fortunes daily experience teaches, and the wise man hath told us: "The diligent hand makes rich;" and, again, "Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before princes, he shall not stand before mean p ersons."

Prov. iii. 16. viii. 21.

Prov. x. 9.

Prov. x. 25. xii. 19.

Prov. x. 4. xxii. 29.

And where men by reason of the difficult circumstances of their condition cannot arrive to any eminency of estate, yet religion makes a compensation for this, by teaching men to be contented with that moderate and competent fortune which God hath given them. For the shortest way to be rich is not by enlarging our estates, but by contracting our desires. What Seneca says of philosophy, is much more true of religion, "Præstat opes sapientia, quascuicunque fecit supervacuas dedit;" it makes all those rich to whom it makes riches superfluous, and they are so to those, who are taught by religion to be contented with such a portion of them as God's providence hath thought fit to allot to them.

3. As to our reputation. There is nothing gives a man a more firm and established reputation among wise and serious persons (whose judgment is only valuable) than a prudent and substantial piety. This doth many times command reverence and esteem from the worser sort of men, and such as are no great friends to religion; and sometimes the force of truth will extort an acknowledgment of its excellency, even from its greatest enemies. I know very well that good men may, and often do, blemish the reputation of their piety, by overacting some things in religion; by an indiscreet zeal about things wherein religion is not concerned, by an ungrateful austerity and sourness, which religion doth not require; by little affectations, and an imprudent ostentation of devotion; but a substantial and solid, a discreet and unaffected piety, which makes no great noise and shew, but expresses itself in a constant and serious devotion, and is accompanied with the fruits of goodness and kindness and righteousness towards men, will not only give a man a credit and value among

the sober and the virtuous, but even among the vicious and more degenerate sort of men. Upon this account it is that the apostle adviseth Christians, if they would recommend themselves to the esteem of God and men, earnestly to mind the weighty and substantial parts of religion; "Let not then your good be evil spoken of; for the kingdom of God is not meats and drinks, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; for he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men."

It is true indeed there are some persons of so profligate a temper, and of such an inveterate enmity to all goodness, as to scorn and reproach even religion and virtue itself. But the reproach of such persons does not really wound a man's reputation. For why should any man be troubled at the contumelies of those whose judgment deserves not to be valued, who despise goodness and good men out of malice and ignorance? If these reproaches which they cast upon them were the censures of wise and sober men, a man's reputation might be concerned in them; but they are the rash words of inconsiderate and injudicious men, the extravagant speeches of those who are unexperienced in the things they speak against; and therefore no wise man will be troubled at them, or think either religion or himself disparaged by them.

4. As to our relations. Religion also conduceth to the happiness of these, as it derives a large and extensive blessing upon all that belongs to us; the goodness of God being so diffusive as to scatter his blessings "round about the habitations of the just," and "to shew mercy unto thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments." So David

tells us, "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments. His seed shall be mighty upon earth: the generation of the upright shall be blessed. Wealth and riches are in his house, and his righteousness endureth for ever." So Solomon: "A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children;" and again, "In the fear of the Lord is strong confidence, and his children shall have a place of refuge." But the wicked derives a curse upon all that is related to him; he is said "to trouble his own house;" and again, "The wicked are overthrown, and are not, but the house of the righteous shall stand."

Psal. cxii. 1, 2, 3.

Prov. xiii. 22.

Prov. xiv. 26.

Prov. xi. 29. xii. 7.

But, setting aside the consideration of God's providence, religion doth likewise in its own nature tend to the welfare of those who are related to us; because it lays the strictest obligations upon men to take care of their families and relations, and to make the best provision both for their comfortable subsistence here in this world, and their salvation in the next. And those who neglect these duties, the Scripture is so far from esteeming them Christians, that it accounts them worse than heathens and infidels: "He that provideth not for his own, especially those of his own house, is worse than an infidel, and hath denied the faith." This I know is spoken in respect of temporal provision, but it holds *à fortiori* as to the care of their souls.

1 Tim. v. 8.

Besides, it is many times seen, that the posterity of holy and good men, especially of such as have evinced their piety towards God, by bounty and charity to men, have met with unusual kindness and

respect from others; and have by a strange and secret disposition of Divine providence been unexpectedly cared and provided for; and that, as they have all the reason in the world to believe, upon the account and for the sake of the piety and charity of their parents. This David tells us from his own particular observation: "I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." And that by the righteous is here meant the good and merciful man, appears from the description of him in the next words: "He is ever merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed." And, on the contrary, the posterity of the wicked do many times inherit the fruits of their father's sins and vices; and that not only by a just judgment of God, but from the natural course and consequence of things. And, in this sense, that expression in Job is often verified, that God "lays up the iniquity of wicked men for their children." And doth not experience testify, that the intemperate and unjust do many times transmit their bodily infirmities and diseases to their children, and entail a secret curse upon their estates, which does insensibly waste and consume it, or eat out the heart and comfort of it? Thus you see how religion in all respects conduces to the happiness of this life.

Ps. xxxvii. 25.

Ver. 26.

Job xxi. 19.

II. Religion and virtue do likewise most certainly and directly tend to the eternal happiness and salvation of men in the other world. And this is incomparably the greatest advantage that redounds to men by being religious, in comparison of which all temporal considerations are less than nothing and vanity. The worldly advantages that religion brings to men

in this present life are a sensible recommendation of religion even to the lowest and meanest spirits; but to those who are raised above sense, and aspire after immortality, who believe the perpetual duration of their souls and the resurrection of their bodies; to those who are thoroughly convinced of the inconsiderableness of this short dying life, and of all the concernments of it, in comparison of that eternal state which remains for us in another life; to these, I say, the consideration of a future happiness, and of those unspeakable and everlasting rewards, which shall then be given to holiness and virtue, is certainly the most powerful motive, and the most likely to prevail upon them. For those who are persuaded that they shall continue for ever, cannot choose but aspire after a happiness commensurate to their duration, nor can any thing, that is conscious to itself of its own immortality, be satisfied and contented with any thing less than the hopes of an endless felicity: and this hope religion alone gives men, and the Christian religion only can settle men in a firm and unshaken assurance of it. But because all men who have entertained any religion have consented to these principles, of the immortality of the soul, and the recompenses of another world, and have always promised to themselves some rewards of piety and virtue after this life; and because I did more particularly design from this text to speak of the temporal benefits and advantages which redound to men from religion; therefore I shall content myself to shew very briefly, how a religious and virtuous life doth conduce to our future happiness. And that upon these two accounts;—from the promise of God, and from the nature of the thing.

1 Tim. iv. 8, 1. From the promise of God. "Godliness (saith the apostle) hath the promise of the life that is to come." God hath all along in the Scripture suspended the promise of eternal life upon this condition. He hath peremptorily declared, that without obedience and holiness of life no man shall ever see the Lord. And this very thing, that it is the constitution and appointment of God, might be argument enough to us (if there were no other) to convince us of the necessity of obeying the laws of God in order to our happiness, and to persuade us thereunto. For eternal life is the gift of God, and he may do what he will with his own. He is master of his own favours, and may dispense them upon what terms and conditions he pleases. But it is no hard condition that he hath imposed upon us. If religion brought no advantages to us in this world, yet the happiness of heaven is so great as will abundantly recompense all our pains and endeavours; there is temptation enough in the reward to engage any man in the work. Had God thought fit to have imposed the most grievous and difficult things upon us, ought we not to have submitted to them, and to have undertaken them with cheerfulness upon such great and glorious encouragements? As Naaman's servants said to them in another case, "Had he bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it?" So if God had said, that without poverty and actual martyrdom, "no man shall see the Lord," would not any man that believes heaven and hell, and understands what these words signify, and what it is to escape extreme and eternal misery, and to enjoy unspeakable and endless glory, have been willing to accept these condi-

tions? "How much more, when he hath only said, "Wash, and be clean?'" and "Let every man that hath this hope in him, purify himself as he is pure:" but God hath not dealt thus with us, nor is the imposing of this condition of eternal life a mere arbitrary constitution; therefore I shall endeavour to shew,

2dly. That a religious and holy life doth, from the very nature and reason of the thing, conduce to our future happiness, by way of necessary disposition and preparation of us for it. We cannot be otherwise happy, but by our conformity to God: without this we cannot possibly love him, nor find any pleasure or happiness in communion with him. For we cannot love a nature contrary to our own, nor delight to converse with it. Therefore religion, in order to the fitting of us for the happiness of the next life, does design to mortify our lusts and passions, and to restrain us from the inordinate love of the gross and sensual delights of this world; to call off our minds from these inferior things, and to raise them to higher and more spiritual objects, that we may be disposed for the happiness of the other world, and taught to relish the delights of it; whereas, should we set our hearts only upon these things, and be able to taste no pleasure in any thing but what is sensual and earthly, we must needs be extremely miserable when we come into the other world; because we should meet with nothing to entertain ourselves withal, no employment suitable to our disposition, no pleasure that would agree with our depraved appetites and vicious inclinations. All that heaven and happiness signifies is unsuitable to a wicked man, and therefore could be no felicity to

him. But this I shall have occasion to speak more fully to in a subsequent† discourse.

† Vid. Serm. viii.

From all that hath been said, the reasonableness of religion clearly appears, which tends so directly to the happiness of men, and is upon all accounts calculated for our benefit. Let but all things be truly considered and cast up, and it will be found, that there is no advantage to any man from an irreligious and vicious course of life. I challenge any one to instance in any real benefit that ever came to him this way. Let the sinner declare what he hath found by experience. Hath lewdness and intemperance been more for his health than if he had lived chastely and soberly? Hath falsehood and injustice proved at the long run more for the advancement and security of his estate, than truth and honesty would have done? Hath any vice that he hath lived in made him more true friends, and gained him a better reputation in the world than the practice of holiness and virtue would have done? Hath he found that peace and satisfaction of mind in an evil course, and that quiet enjoyment of himself, and comfortable assurance of God's favour, and good hopes of his future condition, which a religious and virtuous life would have given him? Nay, on the contrary, have not some of his vices weakened his body, and broken his health, have not others dissipated his estate, and reduced him to want? What notorious vice is there that doth not blemish a man's reputation, and make him either hated or despised, and that not only by the wise and the virtuous, but even by the generality of men? But was ever any wicked man free from the stings of a guilty conscience, and the torment of a restless and uneasy mind, from the secret dread of Divine displeasure,

and of the vengeance of another world? Let the sinner freely speak the very inward sense of his soul in this matter, and spare not; and I doubt not, if he will deal clearly and impartially, but that he will acknowledge all this to be true, and is able to confirm it from his own sad experience. For this is the natural fruit of sin and the present revenge which it takes upon sinners, besides that fearful punishment which shall be inflicted on them in another life.

What reason then can any man pretend against religion, when it is so apparently for the benefit not only of human society, but of every particular person, when there is no real interest of this world but may ordinarily be as effectually promoted and pursued to as great advantage, nay, usually to far greater, by a man that lives soberly, and righteously, and godly in the world, than by any one that leads the contrary course of life? Let no man then say, with those profane persons whom the prophet speaks of, "It is in vain to serve the Lord, and what profit is it that we have kept his commandments?" God has not been so hard a master to us that we have reason thus to complain of him. He hath given us no laws but what are for our good; nay, so gracious hath he been to us as to link together our duty and our interest, and to make those very things the instances of our obedience, which are the natural means and causes of our happiness. The devil was so far in the right, when he charged Job that he did not "serve God for nought." It is he himself that is the hard master, and makes men serve him for nought, who rewards his drudges and slaves with nothing but shame and sorrow and misery. But God requires no man's service upon

Mal. iii. 14.

hard and unreasonable terms. The greatest part of our work is a present reward to itself, and for whatever else we do or suffer for him, he offers us abundant consideration. And if men did but truly and wisely love themselves, they would upon this very ground, if there were no other, become religious. For when all is done there is no man can serve his own interest better, than by serving God. Religion conduceth both to our present and future happiness, and when the gospel chargeth us with piety towards God, and justice and charity towards men, and temperance and chastity in reference to ourselves, the true interpretation of these laws is this, God requires of men, in order to their eternal happiness, that they should do those things which tend to their temporal welfare; that is, in plainer words, he promises to make us happy for ever, upon condition, that we will but do that which is best for ourselves in this world. To conclude, religion is founded in the interest of men rightly apprehended. So that if the God of this world, and the lusts of men, did not blind their eyes, so as to render them unfit to discern their true interest, it would be impossible, so long as men love themselves, and desire their own happiness, to keep them from being religious; for they could not but conclude that to be their interest, and being so convinced they would resolve to pursue it and stick to it.

SERMON V.

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.—PHIL. iii. 8.

IN the beginning of this chapter the apostle makes a comparison between the Jewish and the Christian religion, and shews the Christian to be in truth and substance what the Jewish was only in type and shadow (ver. 3.); "We are the circumcision, which worship God in the Spirit." And then he enumerates the several privileges he was partaker of by virtue of his being born in the Jewish church; (ver. 4, 5, 6.) "Though I might also have confidence in the flesh, if any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more; circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel," &c. And yet he tells us, he was contented to forego all these advantages for Christ and the Christian religion; (ver. 7.) "But what things were gain to me those I accounted loss for Christ." And not only these, but if there were any thing else that men value in this world he was willing to hazard that also upon the same account; (ver. 8.) "Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord."

In which words the apostle declares the high esteem he had for the Christian religion, which he

calls the "knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord;" the excellency whereof appeared so great to him, that he valued nothing in comparison of the advantages he had by the knowledge of it.

My design at this time from this text is to represent the excellency of this knowledge of the Christian religion above that of any other religion or institution in the world. And here I shall not consider the external evidence which we have of the truth of Christianity and of the divinity of its doctrine, in which respect it hath incomparably the advantage of any other religion: but only the internal excellency of the doctrine itself, abstracting from the Divine authority of it; and that in these four respects:

First, As it does more clearly reveal to us the nature of God, which is the great foundation of all religion.

Secondly, As it gives us a more certain and perfect law for the government of our lives.

Thirdly, As it propounds to us more powerful arguments to persuade men to the obedience of this law.

Fourthly, As it furnishes us with better motives and considerations to patience and contentedness under the evils and afflictions of this life. Now these are the greatest advantages that any religion can have:—To give men right apprehensions of God, a perfect rule of good life, and efficacious arguments to persuade men to be good, and patiently to bear the evils and sufferings of this life. And these shall be the heads of my following discourse.

I. The Christian religion doth more clearly reveal to us the nature of God, than any religion ever did. And to have right apprehensions of God is

the great foundation of all religion: for according as men's notions of God are such will their religion be. If men have gross and false conceptions of God their religion will be absurd and superstitious. If men fancy God to be an ill-natured being, armed with infinite power, one that delights in the misery and ruin of his creatures, and is ready to take all advantages against them, they may fear him, but they will hate him; and they will be apt to be such towards one another as they fancy God to be towards them; for all religion doth naturally incline men to imitate him whom they worship.

Now the Christian religion gives us a more perfect and a more lovely character of God than any religion ever did. It represents him to us as a pure spirit (which the heathen did not generally believe), and that he is to be worshipped in such a manner as is most suitable to his spiritual nature (which not only the heathens, but even the Jews themselves, were extremely mistaken about); "God is a spirit (says our Saviour), and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." It is true indeed God himself did command sacrifices to the Jews, and all those external and troublesome observances of which their religion did consist: but then it is to be considered, that he did not institute this way of worship because it was most suitable to his own nature, but because of the carnality of their hearts and the proneness of that people to idolatry. God did not prescribe these things because they were best, but because the temper of that people would then admit of nothing better. And this the Scriptures gives us several intimations of: "Thou desirest not sacrifice, thou delightest not in burnt-offerings," saith David: and Psalm lxi. 16.

elsewhere more expressly to this purpose, "I spake not unto your fathers (says God by the prophet Jeremiah) nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice:" a sufficient intimation that God did not primarily intend to appoint this way of worship, and to impose it upon them as that which was most proper and agreeable to him, but that he condescended to it as most suitable to their present state and inclination. And in this sense also some understand what God says to the same people by the prophet Ezekiel, that he "gave them statutes that were not good."

Jer. vii. 22.

Ezek. xx. 25.

And as the Christian religion gives a more perfect, so a more amiable and lovely character of the Divine nature. No religion that ever was in the world does so fully represent the goodness of God and his tender love to mankind, which is the best and most powerful argument to the love of God. The heathens did generally dread God, and looked upon him as fierce and cruel and revengeful; and therefore they endeavoured to appease him by the horrid and barbarous sacrifices of men, and of their own children. And all along in the Old Testament God is generally represented as very strict and severe. But there are no where so plain and full declarations of his mercy and love to the sons of men as are made in the gospel. In the Old Testament God is usually styled "the Lord of Hosts, the great and the terrible God;" but in the New Testament he is represented to us by milder titles: "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolations; the

God of all patience; the God of love and peace;" nay, he is said to be love itself, and to dwell in love. And this difference between the style of the Old and New Testament is so remarkable, that one of the greatest sects in the primitive church (I mean that of the gnostics) did upon this very ground found their heresy of two gods; the one evil and fierce and cruel, whom they called the God of the Old Testament; the other good and kind and merciful, whom they called the God of the New. So great a difference is there between the representations which are made of God in the books of the Jewish and the Christian religion, as to give at least some colour and pretence for an imagination of two gods.

II. Christian religion hath given us a more certain and perfect law for the government of our lives. It hath made our duty more plain and certain, in many instances, than either the philosophy of the heathen, or the precepts of Moses had done. It commands universal love and kindness and good-will among men, a readiness to forgive our greatest enemies, "to do good to them that hate us, to bless them that curse us, and to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us;" and does inculcate these precepts more vehemently, and forbid malice and hatred, and revenge and contention more strictly and peremptorily, than any religion ever did before: as will appear to any one that does but attentively read our Saviour's sermon upon the Mount.

And as Christianity hath given us a more certain, so likewise a more perfect law for the government of our lives. All the precepts of it are reasonable and wise, requiring such duties of us as are suitable to

the light of nature, and do approve themselves to the best reason of mankind, such as have their foundation in the nature of God, and are, in imitation of the Divine excellences, such as tend to the perfection of human nature, and to raise the minds of men to the highest pitch of goodness and virtue. The laws of our religion are such as are generally useful and beneficial to the world, as do tend to the outward peace and the health, to the inward comfort and contentment, and to the universal happiness of mankind. They command nothing that is unnecessary and burdensome, as were the numerous rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion, but what is reasonable, and useful, and substantial: and they omit nothing that may tend to the glory of God, or the welfare of men, nor do they restrain us in any thing but what is contrary either to the regular inclinations of nature, or to our reason and true interest. They forbid us nothing but what is base and unworthy, to serve our humours and passions, to reproach our understanding, and to make ourselves fools and beasts: in a word, nothing but what tends either to our private harm and prejudice, or to public disorder and confusion.

And that this is the tenor of the laws of the gospel will appear to any one from our Saviour's sermons and discourses: particularly that upon the Mount; wherein he charges his disciples and followers to be humble, and meek, and righteous, and merciful, and pure, and peaceable, and patient under sufferings and persecutions, and good and kind to all, even to those that are evil and injurious to us, and to endeavour to excel in all goodness and virtue. This will appear likewise from the writings of the holy apostles: I will instance but in some few

passages in them. St. Paul represents to us the design of the Christian doctrine in a very few words, but of admirable sense and weight; Tit. ii. 11, 12. "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this present world." The same apostle makes this the main and fundamental condition of the covenant of the gospel on our part: "Let every one that 2 Tim. ii. 19. names the name of Christ depart from iniquity." St. James describes the Christian doctrine (which he calls "the wisdom that is from above") by these characters: "It is first pure, then James iii. 17. peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." St. Peter calls the gospel "the knowledge of him that hath Pet. iii. 1. 3, 4. called us to glory and virtue; whereby (saith he) are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might be partakers of a Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust;" and, upon this consideration, he exhorts them "to Ver. 5, 6, 7. give all diligence to add to their faith" the several virtues of a good life, without which he tells them "they are barren and unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." I will conclude with that full and comprehensive passage of St. Paul to the Philippians: "Whatsoever Phil. iv. 8. things are true, whatsoever things are honest (ὅσα σεμνὰ, whatsoever things are of venerable esteem), whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure (or chaste), whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report if

there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things."

But the perfection and the reasonableness of the laws of Christianity will most plainly appear by taking a brief survey of them: and they may all be referred to these two general heads. They are either such as tend to the perfection of human nature, and to make men singly and personally good, or such as tend to the peace and happiness of human society.

First, Such as tend to the perfection of human nature and to make men good, singly and personally considered And the precepts of this kind may be distributed likewise into two sorts, such as enjoin piety towards God, or such as require the good order and government of ourselves in respect of the enjoyments and pleasures of this life.

1. Such as enjoin piety towards God. All the duties of Christian religion which respect God, are no other but what natural light prompts men to, excepting the two sacraments (which are of great use and significancy in the Christian religion), and praying to God in the name and by the mediation of Jesus Christ: for the sum of natural religion, as it refers more immediately to God, is this. That we should inwardly reverence and love God, and that we should express our inward reverence and love to him by external worship and adoration, and by our readiness to receive and obey all the revelations of his will; and that we should testify our dependance upon him, and our confidence of his goodness, by constant prayers and supplications to him, for mercy and help for ourselves and others; and that we should acknowledge our obligations to him for the many favours and benefits which every day and

every minute we receive from him, by continual praises and thanksgivings; and that, on the contrary, we should not entertain any unworthy thoughts of God, nor give that honour and reverence which is due to him, to any other; that we should not worship him in any manner that is either unsuitable to the excellency and perfection of his nature, or contrary to his revealed will: that we should carefully avoid the profane and irreverent use of his name by cursing, or customary swearing, and take heed of the neglect or contempt of his worship, or any thing belonging to it. This is the sum of the first part of natural religion, and these are the general heads of those duties which every man's reason tells him he owes to God: and these are the very things which the Christian religion does expressly require of us, as might be evidenced from particular texts in the New Testament. So that there is nothing in this part of Christianity but what agrees very well with the reason of mankind.

2. Such precepts as require the good order and government of ourselves in respect of the pleasures and enjoyments of this life. Christian religion commands whatsoever things are pure and chaste, all manner of sobriety and temperance and moderation in reference to our appetites and passions; and forbids whatever is unnatural, and unreasonable, and unhealthful in the use of pleasures and of any of God's creatures. Hither belong all those texts which require of us that we should "not walk after the flesh, but after the Spirit," that we should "cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," that we should "be holy in all manner of conversation." St. John distributes the lusts and irregular appetites of

Rom. viii. 1.
2 Cor. vii. 1.
1 Pet. i. 15.

men into three kinds; voluptuousness, covetousness, and ambition, answerable to the three sorts of tempting objects that are in the world; pleasures, riches, and honours. "All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," &c. And Christianity doth strictly forbid all these. "Take heed and beware of covetousness (says our Saviour, and he adds this excellent reason); for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." It forbids pride and ambition and vain glory, and commands humility and modesty and condescension to others; "Learn of me (says our Saviour), for I am meek and lowly in spirit;" "Mind not high things, but condescend to them that are of low degree;" "Let nothing be done through vain glory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." And in reference to sensual pleasures it forbids all irregularity and excess, and strictly enjoins purity and temperance; cautioning us "to take heed, lest we be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness;" charging us to "walk decently as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness;" to "abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul." Now all these precepts do not only tend to beget in us such virtues and dispositions as are reasonable and suitable to our nature, and every way for our temporal convenience, and advantage, but such as do likewise exceedingly dispose us to piety and religion, by purifying our souls from the dross and filth of sensual delights. For covetousness debaseth a man's spirit, and sinks it into the earth; in-

1 John ii. 16.

Luke xii. 15.

Mat. xi. 29.
Rom. xii. 16.
Phil. ii. 3.

Luke xxi. 36.
Rom. xiii. 13.
1 Pet. ii. 11.

temperance and lust cloud a man's understanding, and indispose it for the contemplation of things spiritual and Divine. Thus you see how the precepts of Christianity do tend to the perfection of human nature, considering men singly and personally.

Secondly, The other sort of precepts are such as tend to the peace and happiness of human society. And the reason of mankind can devise nothing more proper to this end than the laws of Christianity are. For they command all those virtues which are apt to sweeten the spirits and allay the passions and animosities of men one towards another. They require us to love our neighbour (that is, every man in the world, even our greatest enemies) as ourselves. And for this end among others was the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the feast of love, instituted; that by commemorating the love of our dying Saviour, who laid down his life for his enemies, we might be put in mind how we ought to love one another.

And by this law of loving all men, even our enemies, Christian religion discovers itself not only to be the most innocent and harmless, but the most generous and best-natured institution that ever was in the world. For in pursuance of this general precept it commands us, "to do good to all men; if it be possible, and as much as in us lies, to live peaceably with all men;" to "be kind to one another," ready to gratify and oblige men; to be "tender-hearted" and compassionate towards those that are in want or misery, and ready to supply and relieve them; to sympathize with one another in our joys and sorrows, "to mourn with those that mourn, and to rejoice with them that rejoice; to bear one another's burdens, and to forbear one another in love;" to be easily reconciled to them that have offended us, and

to be ready to "forgive from our hearts" the greatest injuries that can be done to us, and that without bounds and limits, "even to seventy times seven," as our Saviour expresseth it.

The laws of Christianity do likewise secure both the private interest of men and the public peace, by confirming and enforcing all the dictates of nature concerning justice and equity, and our doing to others as we would have them to do to us; and by commanding obedience to human laws, which decide men's rights and submission to government under pain of damnation; and by forbidding whatever is contrary to these, violence and oppression, defrauding and over-reaching one another, perfidiousness and treachery, breach of trusts, oaths or promises, undutifulness to superiors, sedition and rebellion against magistracy and authority: and, if there be any thing else that is apt to disturb the peace of the world, and to alienate the affections of men from one another, as sourness of disposition, and rudeness of behaviour, censoriousness and sinister interpretation of things, all cross and distasteful humours, and whatever else may render the conversation of men grievous and uneasy to one another: all these are either expressly, or by clear consequence and deduction, forbidden in the New Testament.

And now what could any religion do more towards the reforming of the dispositions and manners of men? What laws can be devised more proper and effectual to advance the nature of man to its highest perfection, to procure the tranquillity of men's minds, and the peace and happiness of the world, than these precepts of Christianity are? Several of which (as those of "loving our enemies," of "not revenging injuries," of "rendering good for evil," &c.) though they have been esteemed reasonable

by some of the wisest among the heathen, yet by reason of the degeneracy of the world, and of the obscurity and uncertainty of human reason, they never obtained to have the estimation and force of natural laws. So that we owe to Christianity the discovery of the most certain and perfect rule of life that ever the world was acquainted withal.

III. Christian religion propounds the most powerful arguments to persuade men to the obedience of these laws. The gospel offers such considerations to us, as are fit to work very forcibly upon two of the most swaying and governing passions in the mind of man—our hopes and our fears. To encourage our hopes it gives us the highest assurance of the greatest and most lasting happiness, in case of obedience; and to awaken our fear it threatens sinners with the most dreadful and durable torments, in case of disobedience. "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality," it promiseth eternal life: but unto them that obey not the truth, "but obey unrighteousness," it threatens "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish." And this is which that makes the doctrine of the gospel so powerful an instrument for the reforming of the world, that it proposes to men such glorious rewards and such terrible punishments as no religion ever did; and, to make the consideration of them more effectual, it gives us far greater assurance of the reality and certainty of these things than ever the world had before. This account the apostle gives us of the success and efficacy of the gospel upon the minds of men, and for this reason he calls it "the power of God unto salvation;" because therein "the wrath of God is revealed

Rom. ii 7, 8.

Rom. i. 16. 18.

from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." Before the revelation of the gospel the wickedness and impenitency of the heathen world was a much more excusable thing, because they were in a great measure ignorant of the rewards of another life, and had generally but very uncertain and obscure apprehensions of those things which urge men most powerfully to forsake their sins, and are the most prevalent arguments to a good life. So St. Paul tells the Athenians, the most knowing among the heathen, "The times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." The resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, hath given the world that full assurance of another life after this, and of a future judgment, which it never had before; for "He whom God raised from the dead, did declare and testify, that it was he who was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead." And the firm belief of a future judgment, which shall "render to every man according to his deeds," if it be well considered, is to a reasonable nature the most forcible motive of all other to a good life; because it is taken from the consideration of the greatest and most lasting happiness and misery that human nature is capable of. So that the laws of Christianity have the firmest sanction of any laws in the world to secure the obedience and observance of them: for what can restrain men from sin, if the terrors of the Lord and the evident danger of

Acts xvii. 30, 31.

Acts x. 42.

eternal destruction will not? What encouragement can be given to goodness beyond the hopes of heaven and assurance of an endless felicity?

IV. The Christian religion furnisheth us with the best motives and considerations to patience and contentedness under the evils and afflictions of this life. This was one great design of philosophy, to support men under the evils and calamities which this life is incident to, and to fortify their spirits against sufferings. And to this end the wisest among the heathens racked their wits and cast about every way, they advanced all sorts of principles, and managed every little argument and consideration to the utmost advantage. And yet after all these attempts they have not been able to give any considerable comfort and ease to the mind of man, under any of the great evils and pressures of this life. "The bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself upon it, and the covering narrower than that a man can wrap himself in it." All the wise sayings and advices which philosophers could muster up to this purpose, have proved ineffectual to the common people and the generality of mankind, and have helped only to support some few stout and obstinate minds, which, without the assistance of philosophy, would have held up pretty well of themselves.

Some of the philosophers have run so far back for arguments of comfort against pain as to call every thing into question, and to doubt whether there were any such thing as sense or pain. And yet for all that, when any great evil has been upon them, they would certainly sigh and groan as pitifully and cry out as loud as other men.

Others have sought to ease themselves of all the evil of affliction by disputing subtilly against it, and

pertinaciously maintaining, that afflictions are no real evils, but only in opinion and imagination, and therefore a wise man ought not to be troubled at them. But he must be a very wise man that can forbear being troubled at things that are very troublesome. And yet thus Posidonius (as Tully tells us) distinguished; he could not deny pain to be very troublesome, but for all that he was resolved never to acknowledge it to be an evil. But sure it is a very slender comfort that relies upon this nice distinction, between things being trouble some and being evils, when all the evil of affliction lies in the trouble it creates to us. But when the best that can be is made of this argument, it is good for nothing but to be thrown away as a stupid paradox and against the common sense of mankind.

Others have endeavoured to delude their troubles by a graver way of reasoning, that these things are fatal and necessary, and therefore nobody ought to be troubled at them, it being in vain to be troubled at that which we cannot help. And yet perhaps it might as reasonably be said, on the other side, that this very consideration, "that a thing cannot be helped," is one of the justest causes of trouble to a wise man. For it were some kind of comfort if these evils were to be avoided, because then we might be careful to prevent them another time; but if they be necessary, then my trouble is as fatal as the calamity that occasions it; and though I know it in vain to be troubled at that which I cannot help, yet I cannot choose but be afflicted. It was a smart reply that Augustus made to one that ministered this comfort to him of the fatality of things, *Hoc ipsum est* (says he) *quod me malè habet*, this was so far from giving any ease to his mind that "this was the very thing that troubled him."

Others have tried to divert and entertain the troubles of other men, by pretty and plausible sayings, such as this: "That if evils are long they are but light; if sharp but short," and an hundred such like. Now I am apt to imagine that it is but a very small comfort that a plain and ordinary man, lying under a sharp fit of the stone, for a week together, receives from this fine sentence. For what pleasure soever men that are at ease and leisure may take in being the authors of witty sayings, I doubt it is but poor consolation, that a man under great and stinging afflictions finds from them.

The best moral argument to patience, in my opinion, is the advantage of patience itself. To bear evils as quietly as we can is the way to make them lighter and easier. But to toss and fling and to be restless, is good for nothing but to fret and enrage our pain, to gall our sores, and to make the burden that is upon us sit more uneasy. But this is properly no consideration of comfort, but an art of managing ourselves under afflictions so as not to make them more grievous than indeed they are.

But now the arguments which Christianity propounds to us are such as are a just and reasonable encouragement to men to bear sufferings patiently. Our religion sets before us not the example of a stupid stoic, who had by obstinate principles hardened himself against all sense of pain, beyond the common measures of humanity, but an example that lies level to all mankind, of a man like ourselves, that had a tender sense of the least suffering, and yet patiently endured the greatest; of "Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and

Heb. xii. 2.

is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."

God thought it expedient that the first Christians should by great hardships and persecutions be trained up for glory, and to animate and encourage them hereto the "Captain of our salvation was crowned by sufferings." Much more should the consideration of this pattern arm us with patience against the common and ordinary calamities of this life, especially if we consider his example with this advantage, that though his sufferings were wholly undeserved, and not for himself but for us, yet he bore them patiently.

But the main consideration of all is, the glory which shall follow our sufferings as the reward of them, if they be for God and his cause; and if upon any other innocent account, as a reward of our patience. "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Christian religion hath secured us that we shall be infinite gainers by our sufferings. And who would not be content to suffer upon terms of such advantage; "to pass through many tribulations into the kingdom of God," and to endure a short affliction for an endless happiness? The assurance of a future blessedness is a cordial that will revive our spirits more in the day of adversity, than all the wise sayings and considerations of philosophy.

2 Cor. iv. 17.

These are the arguments which Christianity propounds to us, and they are firm and sound at the bottom; they have strength and substance in them, and are apt to work upon human nature, and the most ordinary understanding is capable of the force of them. In the strength and virtue of this great

example, and in contemplation of this glorious reward, with what resolution and cheerfulness, with what courage and patience, did vast numbers of all sorts of people in the first ages of Christianity, not only men but women, not only those of greater spirit and more generous education, but those of the poorest and lowest condition, not only the learned and the wise, but the ignorant and illiterate, encounter all the rage and malice of the world, and embrace torments and death? Had the precepts and counsels of philosophy ever any such effect upon the minds of men? I will conclude this with a passage in the life of Lipsius, who was a great studier and admirer of the stoical philosophy. When he lay upon his death-bed, and one of his friends who came to visit him told him that he needed not use arguments to persuade him to patience under his pains, the philosophy which he had studied so much would furnish him with motives enough to that purpose, he answers him with this ejaculation, "Domine Jesu, da mihi patientiam Christianam,"—Lord Jesus give me Christian patience. No patience like that which the considerations of Christianity are apt to work in us.

And now I have as briefly and plainly as I could endeavoured to represent to you the excellency of the Christian religion, both in respect of the clear discoveries which it makes to us of the nature of God, which is the great foundation of all religion, and likewise in respect of the perfection of its laws and the power of its arguments, to persuade men both to obey and suffer the will of God. By which you may see, what the proper tendency and design of this religion is, and what the laws and precepts of it would make men if they would truly observe

them and live according to them, substantially religious towards God, chaste and temperate, patient and contented in reference to themselves and the dispensations of God's providence towards them, just and honest, kind and peaceable and good-natured towards all men. In a word, the gospel describes God to us in all respects such a one as we would wish him to be, gives us such laws as every man that understands himself would choose to live by, propounds such arguments to persuade to the obedience of these laws, as no man that wisely loves himself and hath any tenderness for his own interest and happiness, either in this world or the other, can refuse to be moved withal.

And now methinks I may with some confidence challenge any religion in the world to shew such a complete body and collection of holy and reasonable laws established upon such promises and threatenings as the gospel contains. And if any man can produce a religion that can reasonably pretend to an equal or a greater confirmation than the gospel hath, a religion, the precepts and promises and threatenings whereof are calculated to make men wiser and better, more temperate and more chaste, more meek and more patient, more kind and more just, than the laws and motives of Christianity are apt to make men; if any man can produce such a religion, I am ready to be of it. Let but any man shew me any book in the world, the doctrines whereof have the seal of such miracles as the doctrine of the Scripture hath; a book which contains the heads of our duty so perfectly, and without the mixture of any thing that is unreasonable, or vicious, or any ways unworthy of God; that commands us every thing in reason ne-

cessary to be done, and abridgeth us of no lawful pleasure without offering us abundant recompense for our present self-denial: a book the rules whereof, if they were practised, would make men more pious and devout, more holy and sober, more just and fair in their dealings, better friends and better neighbours, better magistrates and better subjects, and better in all relations, and which does offer to the understanding of men more powerful arguments to persuade them to be all this; let any man, I say, shew me such a book, and I will lay aside the Scripture and preach out of that.

And do we not all profess to be of this excellent religion, and to study and believe this holy book of the Scriptures? But, alas! who will believe that we do so, that shall look upon the actions and consider the lives of the greatest part of Christians? How grossly and openly do many of us contradict the plain precepts of the gospel, by our ungodliness and worldly lust, by living intemperately, or unjustly, or profanely in this present world? As if "the grace of God," which brings salvation, had never appeared to us, as if we had never heard of heaven or hell, or believed not one word that the Scripture says concerning them; as if we were in no expectation "Of the blessed hope, and the glorious appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," whom "God hath appointed to judge the world in righteousness," and who will bestow mighty rewards upon those who faithfully serve him, but will come "in flaming fire to take vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Let us not then deceive ourselves by pretending to this "excellent knowledge of Christ Jesus our

Lord," if we do not frame our lives according to it. For though we know those things never so well, yet we are not happy unless we do them: nay, we are but the more miserable for knowing them if we do them not: therefore it concerns every one of us to consider seriously what we believe; and whether our belief of the Christian religion have its due effect upon our lives. If not, all the precepts and promises and threatenings of the gospel will rise up in judgment against us, and the articles of our faith will be so many articles of accusation; and the great weight of our charge will be this, that we did not obey that gospel which we professed to believe, that we made confession of the Christian faith, but lived like heathens. Not to believe the Christian religion, after so great evidence and confirmation as God hath given to it, is very unreasonable; but to believe it to be true, and yet to live as if it were false, is the greatest repugnancy and contradiction that can be. He that does not believe Christianity, either hath, or thinks he hath some reason for withholding his assent from it. But he that believes it, and yet lives contrary to it, knows that he hath no reason for what he does, and is convinced that he ought to do otherwise: and he is a miserable man indeed that does those things, for the doing of which he continually stands condemned by his own mind. And accordingly God will deal more severely with such persons. He will pardon a thousand defects in our understandings, if they do not proceed from gross carelessness and neglect of ourselves; but the faults of our wills have no excuse; because we knew to do better, and were convinced in our minds that we ought not to have done so.

Dost thou believe, that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," and dost thou still allow thyself in "ungodliness and worldly lusts?" Art thou convinced that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord," and dost thou still persist in a wicked course? Art thou fully persuaded that "No whoremonger, nor adulterer, nor covetous, nor unrighteous person, shall have any inheritance in the kingdom of God and Christ," and dost thou for all that continue to practise these vices? What canst thou say, man, why it should not be to thee according to thy faith? If it so fall out that thou art miserable and undone for ever, thou hast no reason to be surprised as if some unexpected thing had happened to thee. It is but with thee just as thou believedst it would be when thou didst these things. For how couldst thou expect that God should accept of thy good belief when thou didst so notoriously contradict it by a bad life? How couldst thou look for other but that God should condemn thee for the doing of those things for which thine own conscience did condemn thee all the while thou wast doing of them? When we come in the other world there is no consideration that will sting our consciences more cruelly than this, that we did wickedly when we knew to have done better, and chose to make ourselves miserable when we understood the way to have been happy. To conclude, we Christians have certainly the best and the holiest, the wisest and most reasonable religion in the world; but then we are in the worst condition of all mankind, if the best religion in the world do not make us good.

SERMON VI.

THE PRECEPTS OF CHRISTIANITY NOT GRIEVOUS.

And his commandments are not grievous.—

1 JOHN v. 3.

ONE of the great prejudices which men have entertained against the Christian religion is this—that it lays upon men "heavy burdens and grievous to be born," that the laws of it are very strict and severe, difficult to be kept, and yet dangerous to be broken; that it requires us to govern and keep under our passions, and to contradict many times our strongest inclinations and desires, "to cut off our right hand," and "to pluck out our right eye," to "love our enemies," to "bless them that curse us," to "do good to them that hate us," and to "pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us;" to forgive the greatest injuries that are done to us, and to make reparation for the least that we do to others; to be contented with our condition, patient under sufferings, and ready to sacrifice our dearest interest in this world, and even our very lives, in the cause of God and religion: all these seem to be hard sayings and grievous commandments.

For the removal of this prejudice I have chosen these words of the apostle, which expressly tells us the contrary, that "the commandments of God are not grievous."

And though this be a great truth if it be impartially considered, yet it is also a great paradox to

men of corrupt minds and vicious practices, who are prejudiced against religion and the holy laws of God by their interest and their lusts. This seems a strange proposition to those who look upon religion at a distance, and never tried the experiment of a holy life, who measure the laws of God not by the intrinsical goodness and equity of them, but by the reluctancy and opposition which they find in their own hearts against them.

Upon this account it will be requisite to take some pains to satisfy the reason of men concerning this truth; and, if it be possible, to make it so evident, that those who are unwilling to own it, may yet be ashamed to deny it. And methinks I have this peculiar advantage in the argument I have now undertaken, that every reasonable man cannot choose but wish me success in this attempt, because I undertake the proof of that which it is every man's interest that it should be true: and if I make it out, this pretence against religion will not only be baffled, but we shall gain a new and forcible argument to persuade men over to it.

Now the easiness or difficulty of the observation of any laws or commands depends chiefly upon these three things.

First. Upon the nature of the laws themselves, and their suitableness or unsuitableness to those to whom they are given.

Secondly. Upon the ability or weakness of those on whom these laws are imposed for the keeping of them. For easiness and difficulty are relative terms, and refer to some power, and a thing may be difficult to a weak man, which yet may be easy to the same person when assisted with a greater strength.

Thirdly. Upon the encouragement that is given to

the observation of them. For the proposal of great rewards does very much qualify and allay the difficulty of any undertaking.

Now if I can make these things evident; 1. That the laws of God are reasonable, that is, suitable to our nature and advantageous to our interest: 2. That we are not destitute of sufficient power and ability for the performance of them: And, 3. That we have the greatest encouragements to this purpose: then have we all imaginable reason to assent to the truth of this proposition, that the "commandments of God are not grievous."

I. The laws of God are reasonable, that is, suitable to our nature and advantageous to our interest. It is true God hath a sovereign right over us as we are his creatures, and by virtue of this right he might without injustice have imposed difficult tasks upon us, and have required hard things at our hands. But in making laws for us he hath not made use of this right. He hath commanded us nothing in the gospel that is either unsuitable to our reason, or prejudicial to our interest; nay, nothing that is severe and against the grain of our nature, but when either the apparent necessity of our interest does require it, or any extraordinary reward is promised to our obedience. "He sheweth thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" This is the sum of the natural law, that we should behave ourselves reverently and obediently towards the Divine Majesty, and justly and charitably towards men; and that, in order to the fitting of us for the better discharge of these duties, we should govern ourselves in the use of sensual delights with temper-

ance and moderation. And if we go over the laws of Christianity, we shall find that, excepting a very few particulars, they enjoin the very same things; only they have made our duty more clear and certain. But this I have had occasion to make out largely in the foregoing discourse, and therefore I shall say the less to it now.

As to the several parts of God's worship and service, prayer and thanksgiving, hearing and reading the word of God, and receiving of the sacrament; these are all no less for our own comfort and advantage than for the honour of God and religion. And there is nothing of difficulty or trouble in the external performance of them, but what hypocrisy can make tolerable to itself: and certainly they must be not only much more easy, but even delightful, when they are directed by our understandings, and accompanied with our hearts and affections.

As for those laws of religion which concern our duty to ourselves, as temperance and chastity; or to others, as the several branches of justice and charity, comprehended in those general rules, "of loving our neighbour as ourselves," and "of doing to others as we would have them to do to us:" there is nothing in all these laws but what is most reasonable and fit to be done by us, nothing but what if we were to consult our own interest and happiness, and did rightly understand ourselves, we would choose for ourselves; nothing but what is easy to be understood, and as easy to be practised by an honest and willing mind.

Now the practice of all these is suitable to our nature, and agreeable to the frame of our understandings; proper to our condition and circumstances in this world, and preparatory to our happiness in the

next. And no man's reason did ever dictate to him the contrary of any of these; that it is fit for a creature not to love God, to be undutiful to his great Sovereign, and ungrateful to his best benefactor; that it is reasonable for a man to debauch himself by intemperance and brutish sensuality; to hate, defraud, and oppress other men. Our very natural reason, if we will but listen to the dictates of it, is an enemy to all these sins, and a law against all these vices.

And as the practice of all piety and virtue is agreeable to our reason, so is it likewise for the interest of mankind; both of private persons and of public societies, as I have already shewn. Some virtues plainly tend to the preservation of our health, others to the improvement and security of our estates, all to the peace and quiet of our minds; and, which is somewhat more strange, to the advancement of our esteem and reputation; for, though the world be generally bad, and men are apt to approve nothing so much as what they do themselves; yet, I know not how it comes to pass, men are commonly so just to virtue and goodness, as to praise it in others even when they do not practise it themselves.

And as for those precepts of Christianity, which seem to be most harsh and difficult at first appearance (as repentance and restitution, mortification of our lusts and passions, humility, patience and contentedness with our condition, and resignation of ourselves to the will of God; forgiving and loving our enemies, and self-denial for the cause of God and religion,) if we look well into them, and consider thoroughly the nature and tendency of them, even these will appear to be both reasonable

in themselves, and upon one account or other really for our advantage.

What more reasonable than repentance, than that a man when he hath done amiss and contrary to his duty should be heartily sorrow for it, and resolve to do so no more? And how grievous soever it be, it is necessary, being the only way to pardon and peace. And in case our offence against God hath been complicated with injury to men, it is but reasonable we should make restitution as far as we are able, according to the nature of the injury. For without this our repentance is not real, because we have not done what we can to undo our fault as much as we can, or at least to hinder the injurious consequences of it from proceeding any farther? Nor can any man be judged to be truly sorry for his sin that retains the profit and advantages of it to himself. Besides that, till reparation be made to the utmost of our power we can have no peace, in our own consciences, nor any well-grounded hopes of forgiveness from God.

Mortification of our lusts and passions, though, like repentance, it has something in it that is troublesome, yet nothing that is unreasonable, or really to our prejudice. If we give way to our passions, we do but gratify ourselves for the present, in order to our future disquiet; but if we resist and conquer them, we lay the foundation of perpetual peace and tranquillity in our minds. If we govern ourselves in the use of sensual delight, by the laws of God and reason, we shall find ourselves more at ease than if we should let loose the reins to our appetites and lusts. For the more we gratify our lusts, the more craving they will be, and the more impatient of denial. *Crescit indulgens sibi dirus*

hydrops, every lust is a kind of hydropic distemper, and the more we drink the more we shall thirst. So that by retrenching our inordinate desires we do not rob ourselves of any true pleasure, but only prevent the pain and trouble of farther dissatisfaction.

Humility, though it may seem to expose a man to some contempt, yet it is truly the readiest way to honour: as, on the contrary, pride is a most improper and absurd means for the accomplishing of the end it aims at. All other vices do in some measure attain their end: covetousness does usually raise an estate, and ambitious endeavours do often advance men to high places; but pride and insolence and contempt of others do infallibly defeat their own design. They aim at respect and esteem, but never attain it; for all mankind do naturally hate and slight a proud man.

What more reasonable than patience and contentedness, and that we should in all things resign up ourselves to the will of God, who loves us as well as we do ourselves, and knows what is good for us better than we do ourselves? this certainly is the best way to prevent anxiety and perplexity of mind, and to make the worst condition as tolerable as it can be, and much more easy than it would be otherwise.

As for that peculiar law of Christianity, which forbids revenge, and commands us to forgive injuries, and to love our enemies, no man can think it grievous who considers the pleasure and sweetness of love and the glorious victory of overcoming evil with good, and then compares these with the restless torment and perpetual tumults of a malicious and revengeful spirit.

And, lastly, self-denial for the cause of God and religion; this is neither unreasonable nor to our disadvantage. If we consider our infinite obligations to God, we have no reason to think much to sacrifice to him our dearest interest in this world; especially if we consider withal, how disproportionably great the reward of our sufferings shall be in another world. Besides that, the interest of religion is of so great concernment to the happiness of mankind, that every man is bound, for that reason, to assert the truth of it with the hazard of any thing that is most valuable to him in this world.

II. We are not destitute of sufficient power and strength for the performing of God's commands. Had God given us laws, but no power to keep them, his commandments would then indeed have been grievous. It is true, we have contracted a great deal of weakness and impotency by our wilful degeneracy from goodness; but that grace which the gospel offers to us for our assistance is sufficient for us. And this seems to be the particular reason why the apostle says here in the text, that his commandments are not grievous, because he offers us an assistance proportionable to the difficulty of his commands, and the necessity of our condition: for it follows immediately after the text, "for' whosoever is born of God, overcometh the world.' Therefore the commandments of God are not grievous; because every child of God, that is, every Christian, is endued with a power, whereby he is enabled to resist and conquer the temptations of the world. The same apostle elsewhere encourages Christians upon the same consideration, "greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world."

Though we be encompassed with many and potent enemies, who make it their business to tempt and to deter us from our duty, yet our case is not hard, so long as we have a greater strength on our side: and this the apostle tells us is the case of every Christian: "greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world." Are there legions of devils, who are continually designing and working our ruin? there are also myriads of good angels, who are more cheerful and officious to do us good. For, I doubt not, but as those, who are bent to do wickedly, will never want tempters to urge them on, and to push them forward in an evil course; so, on the other hand, those who apply themselves seriously to the business of religion, and yield themselves tractable to good motions, will find the good Spirit of God more ready and active to encourage them than the devil can be to pull them back; unless we think, that God hath given a greater power and a larger commission to the devil to do men mischief, than to his holy Spirit and his holy angels for our assistance and encouragement. But then we are to understand that this assistance is only offered to men, and not forced upon them, whether they will or no. For if we beg God's grace, but neglect to make use of it; if we implore his assistance for the mortifying of our lusts, but will not contribute our own endeavours, God will withdraw his grace and take away his holy Spirit from us. Nay, if after we have begun well we do notoriously slacken our endeavours, we forfeit the Divine assistance: if when, by God's grace, we have in a good measure conquered the first difficulties of religion, and gained some habitual strength against sin; if after this we grow careless and remiss, and neglect

1 Joh. iv. 4.

our guard, and lay ourselves open to temptations, God's Spirit will not always strive with us; notwithstanding all the promises of the gospel, and the mighty assistances there offered to us, if we love any lust, and will with Sampson lay our head in Delilah's lap, we shall be insensibly robbed of "our strength, and become like other men."

III. We have the greatest encouragement to the observance of God's commands. Two things make any course of life easy; present pleasure, and the assurance of a future reward. Religion gives part of its reward in hand, the present comfort and satisfaction of having done our duty; and, for the rest, it offers us the best security that Heaven can give. Now these two must needs make our duty very easy; a considerable reward in hand, and not only the hopes but the assurance of a far greater recompense hereafter.

1. Present peace and satisfaction of mind, and inexpressible joy and pleasure flowing from the testimony of a good conscience. This is present payment, besides that it is the earnest of a future and greater happiness. And this does naturally spring up in the mind of a good man; "great peace have they that love thy law, and nothing shall offend them." All acts of piety and virtue are not only delightful for the present, but they leave peace and contentment behind them; a peace that no outward violence can interrupt or take from us. The pleasures of a holy life have moreover this peculiar advantage of worldly joys, that we shall never be weary of them; we cannot be cloyed by the frequent repetition of these pleasures, nor by the long enjoyment of them. I know that some vices pretend to bring great pleasure along with them, and

that the delights of a sensual and voluptuous life make a glorious show, and are attended with much pomp and noise, like the sports of children and fools, which are loud and clamorous; or, as Solomon elegantly compares them, "like the crackling of thorns under a pot," which makes a little noise and a sudden blaze that is presently over. But the serious and the manly pleasures, the solid and substantial joys, are only to be found in the ways of religion and virtue. The most sensual man that ever was in the world, never felt his heart touched with so delicious and lasting a pleasure, as that is which springs from a clear conscience, and a mind fully satisfied with his own actions.

2. But the great encouragement of all is the assurance of a future reward, the firm persuasion whereof is enough to raise us above any thing in this world, and to animate us with courage and resolution against the greatest difficulties: so the apostle reasons; "His commandments are not grievous; for whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." The belief of a future happiness and glory was that which made the primitive Christians so victorious over the world, and gave them the courage to resist all the pleasures and terrors of sense. It cannot be denied, but that a religious course of life is liable to be encumbered with many difficulties, which are naturally grievous to flesh and blood. But a Christian is able to comfort himself, under all these, with the thoughts of his end, which is everlasting life. He considers the goodness of God, which he believes would not deny him the free enjoyment of the things of this world, were it not that he hath such joys and plea-

sures in store for him, as will abundantly recompense his present self-denial and sufferings.

Let us now put both these together, the pleasures of religion and the rewards of it, and they cannot but appear to be a mighty encouragement. With what pleasure does a man that lives a holy and a virtuous life despise the pleasures of sin, and notwithstanding all the allurements of sense persist resolutely in his course? And how is such a man confirmed in his purpose and animated in his holy resolution, when he finds that God and his own conscience do applaud his choice; when all along in the course of religion and a virtuous life, in his conflicts with sin, and resistance of temptations, he hath for his present reward the two great pleasures of innocence and of victory, and for his future encouragement the joyful hopes of a crown and a kingdom? A recompense so great as is sufficient to make a lame man walk, enough to make any one willing to offer violence to his strongest passions and inclinations. A man would be content to strive with himself and to conflict with great difficulties, in hopes of a mighty reward. What poor man would not cheerfully carry a great burden of gold and silver, that was assured to have the greatest share of it for his pains, and thereby to be made a man for ever? Whatever difficulties religion is attended withal, they are all sweetened and made easy by the proposal of a great and eternal reward.

But are there no difficulties then in religion? Is every thing so plain and easy? Are all the ways of virtue so smooth and even, as we have here represented them? Hath not our Saviour told us, that "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leads to life, and few there be

Mat. vii. 14.

that find it?" Does not the apostle say, "That
Acts xiv. 22. through much tribulation we must enter
2 Tim. iii. 12. into the kingdom of God?" And that "all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution?" And does not the Scripture every where speak of striving, and wrestling, and running, and fighting; of labouring and watching, and giving all diligence? And is there nothing grievous in all this?

This is a very material objection; and therefore I shall be the more careful to give a satisfactory answer to it. And that I may do it the more distinctly, be pleased to consider these six things. 1. That the sufferings of persecution for religion is an extraordinary case, which did chiefly concern the first ages of Christianity. 2. That this discourse concerning the easiness of God's commands does all along suppose and acknowledge the difficulties of the entrance upon a religious course. 3. Nor is there any reason it should exclude our after-care and diligence. 4. All the difficulties of religion are very much mitigated and allayed by hope and by love. 5. There is incomparably more difficulty and trouble in the ways of sin and vice, than in the ways of religion and virtue. 6. If we do but put virtue and vice, a religious and a wicked course of life in equal circumstances; if we will but suppose a man as much accustomed and inured to the one as he has been to the other, then I shall not doubt to pronounce, that the advantages of ease and pleasure will be found to be on the side of religion.

I. The suffering of persecution for religion is an extraordinary case, and did chiefly concern the first ages of Christianity. And therefore the general sayings of our Saviour and his apostles concerning

the persecuted state of Christians are to be limited, as doubtless they were intended, principally to those first times, and by no means to be equally extended to all ages of the church. At first, indeed, whoever embraced the profession of Christianity did thereby expose themselves to all the sufferings which the power and malice of the world could afflict them withal: But since "The kingdoms of the earth became the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ," and the governors of the world began to be patrons of the church, it is so far from being universally true, that every Christian hath suffered the violence of persecution, that it hath been a rare case, and happened only in some few ages, and to some persons. So that this is accidental to a state of religion, and therefore ought not to be reckoned among the ordinary difficulties of it. And when it happens God gives extraordinary supports, and promises mighty rewards to make it tolerable.

II. This discourse concerning the easiness of God's commands does all along suppose and acknowledge the difficulties of the first entrance upon a religious course, except only in those persons who have had the happiness to be trained up to religion, by the easy and insensible degrees of a pious and virtuous education. These indeed are freed from a great deal of pains and difficulty, which others who are reclaimed from a bad course of life must expect to undergo. They are in a great measure excused from the pangs of the new birth, from the pains of a sudden and violent change, from the terrors of an affrighted mind, and from the deep and piercing sorrows of a more solemn repentance. Whereas those who have lived wickedly before

must look to meet with a great deal more trouble, because they are put upon changing the whole course of their life at once, and must contend with inveterate habits, and offer no small violence to themselves in plucking up those vices which have been rooted in them by long custom and continuance. This indeed is grievous and must needs be sensibly painful, like the "plucking out of a right eye, or the cutting off a right hand:" for in this case a man must strive against the very bent and inclination of his strongest appetites, against the tyranny of custom, and the mighty power of a second nature. But this is no just reflection upon religion, because this does not proceed from the nature of God's laws, but from an accidental indisposition in ourselves, which religion is apt to remove: and if we will but allow some time of trouble and uneasiness for the cure, when that is once wrought the commands of God will be more easy and delightful to us than ever our sins and lusts were.

III. Nor does this exclude our after-care and diligence. For when the apostle says that "The commandments of God are not grievous," he does by no means intend to insinuate, that they are calculated for slothful and lazy persons, that they are so easy as to require no industry and endeavour on our part; he only aims to prevent a tacit objection, which lies at the bottom of many men's hearts, as if religion were a most grievous and intolerable burden, and there were more trouble and less pleasure in it, than in any other action of human life. This he utterly denies, but does not hereby intend to exclude such diligence and industry as men use about other matters. And if I should tell you, that the business of religion does not require a very vi-

gorous prosecution, and great earnestness of endeavour, I should speak quite beside the Holy Scriptures, which so frequently command seeking, and striving, and labouring, besides many other such phrases, that import diligence and earnestness. And indeed it were unfit that so excellent and glorious a reward as the gospel promises, should stoop down like fruit upon a full-laden bough, to be plucked by every idle and wanton hand; that heaven should be prostituted to the lazy desires and faint wishes, to the cheap and ordinary endeavours of slothful man. God will not so much disparage eternal life and happiness, as to bestow it upon those who have conceived so low an opinion of it, as not to think it worth the labouring for. And surely this is sufficient to recommend religion to any considerate man, if the advantages of it be much greater than of any worldly design that we can propound to ourselves, and the difficulties of it not greater. If the same seriousness and industry of endeavour, which men commonly use to raise a fortune and advance themselves in the world, will serve to make a man a good man, and to bring him to heaven, what reason hath any man to complain of the hard terms of religion? And I think I may truly say, that usually less than this does it. For God considers our condition in this world, and the pressing necessities of this life, that we are flesh as well as spirit, and that we have great need of these things, and therefore he allows us to be very sedulous and industrious about them. However, this I am sure of, that if men would be as serious to save their immortal souls as they are to support these dying bodies; if they would but provide for eternity with the same solicitude and real care as they do for this life; if they would but seek heaven with the

same ardour of affection, and vigour of prosecution, as they seek earthly things; if they would but love God as much as many men do the world, and mind godliness as much as men usually do gain; if they would but go to church with as good a will as men ordinarily do to their markets and fairs, and be in as good earnest at their devotions as men commonly are in driving a bargain; if they would but endure some troubles and inconveniences in the ways of religion, with the same patience and constancy as they can do storms and foul ways and mischances, when they are travelling about their worldly occasions; if they would but avoid bad company as men used to do cheaters, and reject the temptations of the devil and the world, as they would do the kind words and insinuations of a man whom they verily believe to have a design to overreach them; I am confident that such a one could not fail of heaven, and would be much surer of it upon these terms, than any man that doth all the other things could be of getting an estate, or of attaining any thing in this world.

And cannot every man do thus much? all that I have said signifies no more but that men should use their sincere endeavours; and this surely every man can do. For to use our sincere endeavours is nothing else but to do as much as we can, and it is nonsense for any man to deny that he can do as much as he can. And if we would do thus much, we are sure of God's grace and assistance, which is never wanting to the sincere endeavours of men. But men expect that religion should cost them no pains, that happiness should drop into their laps, without any design and endeavour on their part, and that after they have done what they please while they live,

God should snatch them up to heaven when they die. But though "the commandments of God be not grievous," yet it is fit to let men know, that they are not thus easy.

IV. All the difficulties of religion are very much allayed and sweetened by hope and love. By the hopes of a mighty reward so great, as is enough to raise us above ourselves, and to make us break through all difficulties and discouragements; and by the love of God, who hath taken all imaginable ways to endear himself to us. He gave us our beings, and when we were fallen from that happiness, to which at first we were designed, he was pleased to restore us to a new capacity of it, by sending his only Son into the world to die for us. So that if we have any sense of kindness we cannot but love Him who hath done so much to oblige us; and, if we love him entirely, nothing that he commands will be grievous to us: nay, so far from that, that the greatest pleasure we are capable of will be to please him. For nothing is difficult to love. It will make a man deny himself and cross his own inclinations to pleasure them whom he loves. It is a passion of a strange power where it reigns, and will cause a man to submit to those things with delight, which in other circumstances would seem grievous to him. Jacob served for "Rachel seven years," and after that "seven years more; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her." Did but the love of God rule in our hearts, and had we as real an affection for him, as some men have for their friends, there are no such difficulties in religion but what love would conquer; and the severest parts of it would become easy, when they were once undertaken by a willing mind.

V. There is incomparably more trouble in the ways of sin and vice, than in those of religion and virtue. Every notorious sin is naturally attended with some inconvenience of harm, or danger, or disgrace, which the sinner seldom considers, till the sin be committed; and then he is in a labyrinth, and in seeking the way out of a present inconvenience, he entangles himself in more. He is glad to make use of indirect arts and laborious crafts, to avoid the consequence of his faults; and many times is fain to cover one sin with another, and the more he strives to disentangle himself the more is he "snared in the work of his own hands." Into what perplexities did David's sin bring him? such as by all his power and arts he could not free himself from: he was glad to commit a greater crime to avoid the shame of a less, and could find no other way to conceal his adultery, but by plunging himself into the guilt of murder. And thus it is proportionably in all other vices. The ways of sin are "crooked paths," full of windings and turnings; but "the way of holiness and virtue is a highway, and lies so plain before us, that wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." There needs no skill to keep a man's self true and honest; if we will but resolve to deal justly, and to "speak the truth to our neighbour," nothing in the whole world is easier: for there is nothing of artifice and reach required to enable a man to speak as he thinks, and to do to others as he would be dealt withal himself.

Isa. xxxv. 8.

And as the ways of sin are full of intricacy and perplexities, so likewise of trouble and disquiet. There is no man that wilfully commits any sin but his conscience smites him for it, and his guilty mind is frequently galled with the remembrance of it;

but the reflection upon honest and virtuous actions hath nothing of regret and disquiet in it. No man's conscience ever troubled him for not being dishonest, no man's reason ever challenged him for not being drunk, no man ever broke his sleep, or was haunted with fears of Divine vengeance because he was conscious to himself that he had lived soberly, and righteously and godly in the world. But with the ungodly it is not so. There is no man that is knowingly wicked but he is guilty to himself, and there is no man that carries guilt about him but he hath received a sting into his soul which makes him restless, so that he can never have any perfect ease and pleasure in his mind.

I might have descended to particular instances, and have shewn how much more troublesome the practice of every sin and vice is than the exercise of the contrary grace and virtue; but that would be too large a subject to be brought within the limits of a single discourse.

VI. Let virtue and vice, a religious and wicked course of life, be put in equal circumstances, do but suppose a man to be as much accustomed and inured to the one as he has been to the other, and then I doubt not but the advantages of ease and pleasure will be found to be on the side of religion; and if we do not put the case thus we make an unequal comparison. For there is no man but when he first begins a wicked course feels a great deal of regret in his mind, the terrors of his conscience and the fears of damnation are very troublesome to him. It is possible that by degrees a man may harden his conscience, and by a long custom of sinning may in a great measure wear off that tender sense of good and evil, which make sin so uneasy:

but then if in the practice of a holy life a man may by the same degrees arrive to far greater peace and tranquillity of mind than ever any wicked man found in a sinful course, if by custom virtue will come to be more pleasant than ever vice was, then the advantage is plainly on the side of religion. And this is truly the case. It is troublesome at first for a man to begin any new course, and to do contrary to what he hath been accustomed to; but let a man but habituate himself to a religious and virtuous life, and the trouble will go off by degrees, and unspeakable pleasure succeed in the room of it. It is an excellent rule which Pythagoras gave to his scholars, "*Optimum vitæ genus eligito, nam consuetudo faciet jucundissimum*;" pitch upon the best course of life, resolve always to do that which is most reasonable and virtuous, and custom will soon render it the most easy. There is nothing of difficulty in a good life but what may be conquered by custom as well as the difficulties of any other course; and, when a man is once used to it, the pleasure of it will be greater than of any other course.

Let no man then decline or forsake religion for the pretended difficulties of it, and lay aside all care of God's commandments upon this suggestion, that they are impossible to be kept: for you see they are not only possible, but easy. And those who upon pretence of the trouble and difficulties of religion abandon themselves to a wicked course of life may easily be convinced, that they take more pains to make themselves miserable than would serve to bring them to happiness. There is no man that is a servant of sin, and a slave to any base lust, but might if he pleased get to heaven with less trouble than he goes to hell.

So that upon consideration of the whole matter, there is no reason why any man should be deterred from a holy and virtuous life for fear of the labour and pains of it. Because every one that is wicked takes more pains in another way, and is more industrious only to a worse purpose. Now he that can travel in deep and foul ways ought not to say that he cannot walk in fair. He that ventures to run upon a precipice when every step he takes is with danger of his life and his soul, ought not to pretend any thing against the plain and safe paths of religion, which will entertain us with pleasure all along in the way, and crown us with happiness at the end.

SERMON VII.

OF THE OBLIGATION OF CHRISTIANS TO A HOLY LIFE.

Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.—2 Tim. ii. 19.

The whole verse runs thus: "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal—the Lord knoweth them that are his: and, let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

In which words the apostle declares to us the terms of the covenant between God and man. For the word θεμέλιος, which is here translated foundation, according to the usual signification of it, is likewise (as learned men have observed) sometimes used for an instrument of contract, whereby two parties do oblige themselves mutually to each other. And this notion of the word agrees very well with what follows concerning the seal affixed to it, which is very suitable to a covenant, but not at all to a foundation. It is true indeed, as the learned Grotius hath observed, there used anciently to be inscriptions on foundation-stones, and the word σφραγὶς which we render seal may likewise signify an inscription; and then the sense will be very current thus: "the foundation of God standeth sure," having this inscription. But it is to be considered, that though σφραγὶς may signify an inscription, yet

it is only an inscription upon a seal, which hath no relation to a foundation, but it is very proper to a covenant or mutual obligation. And accordingly the seal affixed to this instrument, or covenant between God and man, is in allusion to the custom of those countries said to have an inscription on both sides agreeable to the condition of the persons contracting. On God's part there is this impress or inscription, "the Lord knoweth them that are his;" that is, God will own and reward those that are faithful to him: and, on our part, "let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

"Let every one that nameth the name of Christ;" that is, that calls himself a Christian. For to name the name of any one, or to have his name called upon us, does, according to the use of this phrase among the Hebrews, signify nothing else but to be denominated from him. Thus it is frequently used in the Old Testament, and sometimes in the New, "Do they not blaspheme that worthy name, by the which ye are called?" that is the name or title of Christians; and that expression, "if ye be reproached for the name of Christ," is at the sixteenth verse varied, "if any man suffer as a Christian." So that to name the name of Christ is to call ourselves Christians.

James ii. 7.

1 Pet. iv. 14.

"Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." The word ἀδικία is often taken strictly for injustice or unrighteousness, but sometimes used more largely for sin and wickedness in the general. And so it seems to be used here in the text, because there is no reason from the context to restrain it to any particular kind of sin or vice, and because Christianity lays an equal obligation upon

men to abstain from all sin. "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity;" that is, every Christian obligeth himself by his profession to renounce all sin, and to live a holy life. In speaking to this argument I shall do these two things:

I. Shew what obligation the profession of Christianity lays upon men to live holy lives.

II. Endeavour to persuade those who call themselves Christians to answer this obligation.

I. What obligation the profession of Christianity lays upon men to live holy lives. He that calls himself a Christian professeth to entertain the doctrine of Christ, to live in the imitation of his holy example, and to have solemnly engaged himself to all this. I shall speak briefly to these, and then come to that which I principally intend, to persuade men to live accordingly.

1. He that professeth himself a Christian professeth to entertain the doctrine of Christ, to believe the whole gospel, to assent to all the articles of the Christian faith, to all the precepts and promises and threatenings of the gospel. Now the great design, the proper intention of this doctrine, is, to take men off from sin, and to direct and encourage them to a holy life. It teacheth us what we are to believe concerning God and Christ, not with any design to entertain our minds with the bare speculation of those truths, but to better our lives. For every article of our faith is a proper argument against sin, and a powerful motive to obedience. The whole history of Christ's appearance in the world, all the discourses and actions of his life, and the sufferings of his death, do all tend to this; the ultimate issue of all is the destroying of sin: so St.

John tells us, "for this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." But this is most expressly and fully declared to us, Tit. ii. 12, 13, 14, "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. 1 John iii. 8.

The precepts of the gospel do strictly command holiness, and that universal; the purity of our of souls and the chastity of our bodies; "to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness flesh and spirit; to abstain from all kind of evil; to be holy in all manner of conversation." They require of us to endeavour after the highest degrees of holiness that are attainable by us in this imperfect state, "to be holy as he that hath called us is holy;" "to be perfect as our Father which is in heaven is perfect." 2 Cor. vii. 1. 1 Thes. v. 22. 1 Pet. i. 15. Mat. v. 48.

And all the promises of the gospel are so many encouragements to obedience and a holy life: "having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and perfect holiness in the fear of God." We are told by St. Peter, that these exceeding great and precious promises are given to us, that by these "we might be partakers of a Divine nature, having escaped the pollution that is in the world through lust;" and that we might "give all diligence to add to our faith virtue, 2 Cor. vii. 2 Pet. i. 4.

and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance and patience, and brotherly kindness and charity."

And the threatenings of the gospel are so many powerful arguments against sin.

Therefore the apostle calls the gospel "the power of God unto salvation," because therein "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." So that if we call ourselves Christians we profess to embrace the holy doctrine of the Christian religion, which is perfectly opposite to all impiety and wickedness of life. We profess to be governed by those laws which do strictly enjoin holiness and virtue. We profess to be persuaded, that all the promises and threatenings of the gospel are true, which offer such great and glorious rewards to obedience, and threaten transgression and disobedience with such dreadful punishments. And, if so, we are obliged both by our reason and our interest to live accordingly.

Rom. i. 16. 18.

2. He that professeth himself a Christian professeth to live in the imitation of Christ's example, and to follow his steps, "who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." The Son of God came into the world, not only by his doctrine to instruct us in the way to happiness, and by his death to make expiation of sin, but by his life to be an example to us of holiness and virtue. Therefore in Scripture we find several titles given him which import his exemplariness, as of a Prince and a Captain, a Master and a Guide. Now if he be our pattern, we should endeavour to be like him, "to have the same mind that was in Christ Jesus; to walk in love as he also hath loved us, and given himself for us."

We should aspire after the highest degree of holiness, make it our constant and sincere endeavour to please God, and do his will, and to fulfil all righteousness as he did. Does any man profess himself a Christian, and yet abandon himself to intemperance and filthy lusts? is this like our Saviour? Are we cruel and unmerciful? is this like the High-Priest of our profession? Are we proud and passionate, malicious and revengeful? is this to be like-minded with Christ, who was meek and lowly in spirit, who prayed for his enemies, and offered up his blood to God on the behalf of them that shed it? If we call ourselves Christians we profess to have the life of Christ continually before us, and to be always correcting and reforming our lives by that pattern.

3. He that calls himself a Christian hath solemnly engaged himself to renounce all sin and to live a holy life. By baptism we have solemnly taken upon us the profession of Christianity, and engaged ourselves to renounce the devil and all his works, and obediently to keep God's commandments. Anciently those who were baptized put off their garments, which signified the putting off the body of sin: and were immersed and buried in the water, to represent their death to sin; and then did rise up again out of the water, to signify their entrance upon a new life. And to these customs the apostle alludes when he says, "how shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life; for if we

Rom. vi. 2—6.

have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." So that by baptism we profess to be entered into a new state, and to be endued with a new nature; "to have put off the old man with his deeds;" to have quitted "our former conversation, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts," and to be "renewed in the spirit of our minds," and to have "put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." And therefore baptism is called the putting on of Christ: "as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." Now if we profess to have put on Christ we must quit and renounce our lusts, because these are inconsistent, as appears by the opposition which the apostle makes between them: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."

Gal. iii. 27.

Rom. xiii. 14.

And as we did solemnly covenant with God to this purpose in baptism, so we do solemnly renew this obligation so often as we receive the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Therefore the cup in the sacrament is called the "new covenant in his blood;" that is, this represents the shedding of Christ's blood, by which rite the covenant between God and man is ratified. And as by this God doth confirm his promises to us, so we do oblige ourselves to be faithful and obedient to him; "and, if we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth," that is, after we are become Christians, "we account the blood of the co-

venant a common thing;" that is, we make nothing of the solemnest rite that ever was used in the world for confirmation of any covenant—the shedding of the blood of the Son of God. And that this was always understood to be the meaning of this holy sacrament, to renew our covenant with God, and solemnly to confirm our resolutions of a holy life, is very plain from that account which Pliny* gives us of the worship of the Christians in a letter to Trajan the emperor; in which he tells him, "that they assembled early in the morning, before day, to sing a hymn to Christ, as God," and then (saith he) they do "*sacramento se obstringere*, bind themselves by a sacrament or oath not to rob or steal, or commit adultery, not to break their word or falsify their trust; and after they have eaten together they depart home." Which is plainly an account of the Christians celebrating of the holy sacrament, which it seems was then looked upon as an oath, whereby Christians did solemnly covenant and engage themselves against all wickedness and vice.

* Plin. Epist. l. 10. Epist. 97.

Thus you see what obligation the profession of Christianity lays upon us to holiness of life. From all which it is evident, that the gospel requires something on our part. For the covenant between God and us is a mutual engagement; and, as there are blessings promised on his part, so there are conditions to be performed on our's. And if we live wicked and unholy lives, if we neglect our duty towards God, we have no title at all to the blessings of this covenant. The contrary doctrine to this hath been greedily entertained to the vast prejudice of Christianity, as if in this new covenant of the gospel God took all upon himself, and required

nothing, or as good as nothing of us; that it would be a disparagement to the freedom of God's grace to think he expects any thing from us. That the gospel is all promises, and our part is only to believe and embrace them, that is, to be confident that God will perform them if we can but think so, though we do nothing else; which is an easy condition to fools, but the hardest in the world to a wise man, who, if his salvation depended upon it, could never persuade himself to believe that the holy God, without any respect at all to his repentance and amendment, would bestow upon him forgiveness of sins and eternal life, only because he was confident that God would do so. As if any man could think that it were a thing so highly acceptable to God, that men should believe of him, that he loves to dispense his grace and mercy upon the most unfit and unreasonable terms. A covenant does necessarily imply a mutual obligation, and the Scripture plainly tells us what are the terms and conditions of this covenant, both on God's part and our's, namely—that he will be our God and we shall be his people. But he hath no where said, that though we be not his people yet he will be our God. The seal of this covenant hath two inscriptions upon it: one on God's part, that he will "know them that are his;" and another, on our part, that we shall "depart from iniquity." But if we will not submit to this condition, God will not know us, but will bid us depart from him. So our Saviour tells us: "I will say unto them, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not." If we deal falsely in covenant with God, and break loose from all our engagements to him, we release God from all the promises that he hath made to us. If

Mat. vii. 23.

we neglect to perform those conditions, upon which he hath suspended the performance of his promises, we discharge the obligation on God's part, and he remains faithful, though he deny us that happiness which he promised under those conditions which we have neglected.

II. I come now to the second thing propounded, and that is, to persuade those who profess Christianity to answer those obligations to a holy life, which their religion lays upon them. We all call ourselves Christians, and would be very much offended at any man that should deny us this title. But let us not cheat ourselves with an empty and insignificant name; but if we call ourselves Christians, let us fill up this great title, and make good our profession by a suitable life and practice. And to persuade us hereto, I will urge these three considerations:

1. The indecency of the contrary.

2. The great scandal of it to our blessed Saviour and his holy religion: and,

3. The infinite danger of it to our own souls.

1. Consider how unbecoming it is for a man to live unsuitably to his profession. If we call ourselves Christians we profess to entertain the doctrine of the gospel, to be taught and instructed by the best Master, to be the disciples of the highest and most perfect institution that ever was in the world, to have embraced a religion which contains the most exact rules for the conduct and government of our lives, which lays down the plainest precepts, sets before us the best patterns and examples of a holy life, and offers us the greatest assistances and encouragements to this purpose. We profess to be furnished with the best arguments to excite us to

holiness and virtue, to be awed with the greatest fears, and animated with the best hopes of any men in the world.

Now whoever makes such a profession as this, obligeth himself to live answerably, to do nothing that shall grossly contradict it. Nothing is more absurd than for a man to act contrary to his profession, to pretend to great matters, and perform nothing of what he pretends to. Wise men will not be caught with pretences, nor be imposed upon with empty profession, but they will inquire into our lives and actions, and by these they will make a judgment of us. They cannot see into our hearts, nor pry into our understandings, to discover what it is that we inwardly believe; they cannot discern those secret and supernatural principles that we pretend to be acted by: but this they can do, they can examine our actions, and behold our good or bad works, and try whether our lives be indeed answerable to our profession, and do really excel the lives of other men, who do not pretend to such great things. There are a great many sagacious persons who will easily find us out, will look under our mask, and see through all our fine pretensions, and will quickly discern the absurdity of telling the world that we believe one thing, when we do the contrary.

If we profess to believe the Christian religion, we expose ourselves to the scorn and contempt of every discerning man, if we do not live up to it. With what face can any man continue in the practice of any known sin, that professeth to believe the holy doctrine of the gospel, which forbids all sin under the highest and severest penalties. If we did but believe the history of the gospel as we do any ordinary credible story; and did we but regard the

laws of Christianity as we do the laws of the land; were we but persuaded, that fraud and oppression, lying and perjury, intemperance and uncleanness, covetousness and pride, malice and revenge, the neglect of God and religion, will bring men to hell, as certainly as treason and felony will bring a man under the sentence of the law; had we but the same awe and regard for the threatenings and promises of the gospel, that we have for the frowns and smiles of those who are in power and authority, even this would be effectual to keep us from sin. And if the gospel have not this effect upon us, it is an argument that we do not believe it.

It is to no purpose to go about to persuade men that we do heartily entertain the doctrine of Christ, that doctrine which hath all the characters of piety and justice, of holiness and virtue upon it; which obligeth men to "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are chaste, whatsoever things are lovely, and of good report," if we have no regard to these things in our lives. He that would know what a man believes, let him attend rather to what he does than to what he talks. He that leads a wicked life, makes a more credible and effectual profession of infidelity, than he who in words only denies the gospel. It is the hardest thing in the world, to imagine that that man believes Christianity, who, by ungodliness and worldly lusts, does deny and renounce it. If we profess ourselves Christians, it may justly be expected from us, that we should evidence this by our actions, that we should live at another rate than the heathens did; that we, who worship a holy and just God, should not allow ourselves the liberty to sin, as those did who worshipped such gods as were

examples of sin and patrons of their vices. Thou, who professeth thyself a Christian, mayst not walk in the lusts of the flesh and of uncleanness, as those did who worshipped a lustful Jupiter and a wanton Venus. Thou mayst not be intemperate as those were who worshipped a drunken Bacchus. Thou mayst not be cruel and unmerciful as those were who worshipped a fierce Saturn: nor mayst thou steal as those did who worshipped a thievish Mercury. Thou must remember, that thou art a Christian, and when thou art ready to debase thyself to any vile lust, consider what title thou bearest, by what name thou art called, whose disciple thou art; and then say to thyself, shall I allow myself in any impiety or wickedness of life, who pretend to be instructed by that grace of God, which teaches men to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts? shall I cherish any sinful passion, who pretend to have mortified all these, and to have "put off the old man with his deeds?"

It is not being gilded over with the external profession of Christianity that will avail us; our religion must be a vital principle inwardly to change and transform us. What the apostle says concerning circumcision, we may apply to them that are baptized and make an outward profession of Christianity: baptism verily profiteth if we obey the gospel; but if we walk contrary to the precepts of it, our baptism is no baptism, and our Christianity is heathenism. If by our lives and actions we do contradict that religion which we profess, we do by this very thing prove ourselves to be counterfeits and hypocrites; and that we have only taken up our religion for a fashion, and received it according to custom; we were

Rom. ii. 25.

born in a country where it is reverenced, and therefore we are of it. And the reason why we are Christians rather than Jews, or Turks, or heathens, is because Christian religion had the fortune to come first in our way, and to bespeak us at our entrance into the world.

Are we not ashamed to take up a profession upon such slight grounds, and to wear about us such an empty title? it should make our blood to rise in our faces, to consider what a distance there is between our religion and our lives. I remember Tully upbraids the philosophers very smartly for living unsuitably to their doctrines. A philosopher, (saith he) is unpardonable if he miscarry in his life, *quod in officio cujus magister esse vult, labitur; artemque vitæ professus, delinquit in vita:* because he is faulty in that wherein he pretends to be a master; and, whilst he professeth an art of living better than other men he miscarries in his life. With how much greater reason may we challenge Christians for the miscarriages of their lives, which are so directly contrary to their profession? It may justly be expected, that so perfect an institution as the gospel is, which the Son of God came from heaven on purpose to propagate in the world, should make men more strictly holy and virtuous, and set the professors of it at a greater distance from all impurity and vice, than ever any institution in the world did. If any man profess any other art or calling, it is expected that he should be skilled in it, and excel those who do not pretend to it. It is the greatest disparagement to a physician that can be, to say of him, that he is in other respects an excellent man, only he hath no great skill in diseases, and the methods of cure—because this is his profession: he

might be pardoned for other defects, but the proper skill of his art may justly be expected from him. So for a Christian; to say of him, the worst thing in him is his life: he is very orthodox in his opinions, but he is an ill-natured man, one of very violent passions, he will be very frequently drunk, he makes no conscience of his dealings, he is very uncharitable to all that differ from him: this man is faulty in his profession, he is defective in that which should be his excellency; he may have orthodox opinions in religion, but when all is done there is no such error and heresy, nothing so fundamentally opposite to religion as a wicked life. A Christian does not pretend to have a better wit or a more piercing understanding than a Turk or a heathen; but he professeth to live better than they, to be more chaste and more temperate, more just and more charitable, more meek and gentle, more loving and peaceable than other men: if he fail in this, where is the art the man boasts of? to what purpose is all this noise and stir about the gospel and the holy doctrine of Christ? If any man profess himself a Christian, and do not live better than others, he is a mere pretender and mountebank in religion, he is a bungler in his own art, and unskilled in his proper profession. This is the first—the indecency of the thing.

2. Consider how great a scandal this must needs be to our blessed Saviour and his holy religion. The Christian religion hath undergone many a hard censure for the miscarriages of the professors of it. The impieties and vices of those, who call themselves Christians, have caused many sharp reflections upon Christianity, and made the Son of God and the blessed Saviour of the world to wear the

odious names of deceiver and impostor. If a man did design to do the greatest spite to religion, he could not give it a deeper wound, he could not take a more effectual course to disparage it, than by a lewd and debauched life. For this will still be an objection in the minds of those who are strangers and enemies to our religion: if the gospel were so excellent an institution as it is reported to be, surely we should see better effects of it in the lives of those who profess it. When we would persuade a heathen to our religion, and tell him how holy a God we serve, what excellent patterns we imitate, what spiritual and Divine precepts of holiness and virtue our religion does contain; may not he reply, Would you have me to believe you, when I see you do not believe yourselves? If you believed your religion, you would live according to it. For if the gospel were every word of it false, if there were neither a heaven to be hoped for, nor a hell to be feared, after this life, how could many Christians live worse than they do?

As we would not proclaim to the world that the gospel is an unholy and vicious institution, let us take heed that we bring no scandal upon it by our lives, lest the enemies of our religion say as Salvian tells us they did in his time, *Si Christus sancta docuisset Christiani sancte vixissent*—surely if Christ had taught so holy a doctrine, Christians would have lived holier lives. Tully tells us, that one of the shrewdest arguments that ever was brought against philosophy was this: *Quosdam perfectos philosophos turpiter vivere*; that some great philosophers led very filthy lives. Celsus and Porphyry, Hierocles and Julian, among all their witty invectives against Christian religion, have nothing against it

that reflects so much upon it, as do the wicked lives of so many Christians. The greatest enmity to religion is, to profess it and to live unanswerably to it.

This consideration ought greatly to affect us. I am sure the apostle speaks of it with great passion and vehemency, "for many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things." A Jew or a Turk is not so great an enemy to Christianity as a lewd and vicious Christian. Therefore let me beseech Christians, as they tender the honour of their Saviour and the credit of their religion, that they would conform their lives to the holy precepts of Christianity. And if there be any who are resolved to continue in a vicious course, to the injury and disparagement of Christianity, I could almost entreat of them that they would quit their profession and renounce their baptism, that they would lay aside their title of Christians, and initiate themselves in heathenish rites and superstitions, or be circumcised for Jews or Turks: for it were really better, upon some accounts, that such men should abandon their profession, than keep on a vizard which serves to no other purpose but to scare others from religion.

Phil. iii. 18.

3. And, lastly, let us consider the danger we expose ourselves to by not living answerably to our religion. And this, I hope, may prevail upon such as are not moved by the former considerations. Hypocrites are instanced in Scripture, as a sort of sinners that shall have the sharpest torments and the fiercest damnation. When our Saviour would set

forth the great severity of the Lord towards the evil servant he expresseth it thus: "He shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with hypocrites." So that the punishment of hypocrites seems to be made the measure and standard of the highest punishment. Thou professeth to believe in Christ, and to hope in him for salvation, but in the mean time thou livest a wicked and unholy life; thou dost not believe, but presume on him, and wilt find at the great day that this thy confidence will be thy confusion, and he whom thou hopest will be thy advocate and saviour, will prove thy accuser and judge. What our Saviour says to the Jews, "there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust," may very well be applied to false Christians: there is one that accuseth you, and will condemn you, even Jesus, in whom ye trust.

Matt. xxiv. 51.

John v. 45.

The profession of Christianity and men's having the name of Christ named upon them, will be so far from securing them from hell, that it will sink them the deeper into it. Many are apt to pity the poor heathens, who never heard of the name of Christ, and sadly to condole their case; but, as our Saviour said upon another occasion, "weep not for them, weep for yourselves." There is no such miserable person in the world as a degenerate Christian, because he falls into the greatest misery from the greatest advantages and opportunities of being happy. Dost thou lament the condition of Socrates, and Cato, and Aristides, and doubt what shall become of them at the last day of judgment? and canst thou, who art an impious and profane Christian, think that thou shalt escape the damnation of hell?

Dost thou believe that the moral heathen shall be cast out; and canst thou, who hast led a wicked life, under the profession of Christianity, have the impudence to hope, that thou shalt sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God? No: those sins which are committed by Christians, under the enjoyment of the gospel, are of a deeper dye and clothed with blacker aggravations than the sins of heathens are capable of. A pagan may live without God in the world, and be unjust towards men, at a cheaper rate and upon easier terms than thou who art a Christian. Better had it been thou hadst never known one syllable of the gospel, never heard of the name of Christ, than that having taken it upon thee thou shouldst not depart from iniquity. Happy had it been for thee, that thou hadst been born a Jew or a Turk, or a poor Indian, rather than that being bred among Christians, and professing thyself of that number, thou shouldst lead a vicious and unholy life.

I have insisted the longer upon these arguments, that I might, if possible, awaken men to a serious consideration of their lives, and persuade them to a real reformation of them; that I may oblige all those who call themselves Christians to live up to the essential and fundamental laws of our religion; to love God, and to love our neighbour; to do to every man as we would have him to do to us; to mortify our lusts, and subdue our passions, and sincerely endeavour to grow in every grace and virtue, and to abound in all the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ to the praise and glory of God.

This indeed would become our profession and be honourable to our religion, and would remove one

of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the gospel. For how can we expect that the doctrine of God our Saviour should gain any considerable ground in the world, so long as by the unworthy lives of so many Christians it is represented to the world at so great disadvantage? If ever we would have Christian religion effectually recommended, it must be by the holy and unblameable lives of those who make profession of it. Then indeed it would look with so amiable a countenance as to invite many to it, and carry so much majesty and authority in it as to command reverence from its greatest enemies, and make men to acknowledge that God is in us of a truth, and to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

The good God grant, that as we have taken upon us the profession of Christianity, so we may be careful so to live that we may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things; that the grace of God which bringeth salvation may teach us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, &c.

SERMON VIII.

OF THE HAPPINESS OF A HEAVENLY CONVERSATION.

For our conversation is in heaven.
PHIL. iii. 20.

FOR the understanding of which words we need to look back no further than the 18th verse of this chapter, where the apostle, with great vehemency and passion, speaks of some among the Philippians, who indeed professed Christianity, but yet would do any thing to decline suffering for that profession: "There are many that walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are enemies to the cross of Christ." They cannot endure to suffer with him, and for him; they are so sensual and wedded to this world, that they will do any thing to avoid persecution: so he describes them in the next verse, "whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things." Now, in opposition to these sensual and earthly-minded men, the apostle gives us the character of the true Christians; they are such as mind heaven and another world, and prefer the hopes of that to all the interests of this life. "Our conversation is in heaven."

For the right understanding of which phrase be pleased to observe, that it is an allusion to a city, or corporation, and to the privileges and manners of

those who are free of it. And heaven is several times in Scripture represented to us under this notion of a city. It is said of Abraham, that "he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Heb. xi. 10. It is called likewise "the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Heb. xii. 22. And the same apostle speaking of the uncertain condition of Christians in this world, says of them, that "here they have no continuing city, but look for one that is to come." Heb. xiii. 14.

Now to this city the apostle alludes here in the text, when he says "our conversation is in heaven." For the word πολίτευμα, which is rendered conversation, may either signify the privilege of citizens, or their conversation and manners, or may take in both these.

In the first sense of the privilege of citizens, we find πολιτεία, a word of near affinity with this, sometimes used; "with a great sum (says the captain to Paul) obtained I τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην, this freedom." Acts xxii. 28. According to this sense, ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα may very well be rendered, as Tertullian often does in this text, *municipatus noster*, our citizenship is in heaven; an allusion perhaps (as the learned Dr. Hammond observes) to those who though they were not born in Rome, and it may be lived at a great distance from it, had yet *jus civitatis Romanæ*, the privilege of Roman citizens. In like manner the apostle here describes the condition of Christians. It is true, we are born here in this world and live in it, but we belong to another corporation; we are denizens of another country, and free of that city which is above.

In the other sense of the conversation of citizens,

we find the verb πολιτεύεσθε used towards the beginning of this Epistle, "let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ." And why may not the word πολίτευμα in the text, without any inconvenience, include both these? As if the apostle had said—there are some, that mind earthly things, and are so addicted to them, that rather than part with them, they will forsake their religion; but as for us, we consider that we are citizens of heaven, and accordingly we converse and demean ourselves in this world, as those that are free of another city, and do belong to it.

Phil. i. 27.

So that to have "our conversation in heaven" does imply these two things:

First, The serious thoughts and considerations of heaven.

Secondly, The effect which those thoughts ought to have upon our lives.

These two things take up the meaning of my text, and shall be the subject of the following discourse.

I. The serious thoughts and considerations of heaven; that is, of the happy and glorious state of good men in another life. And concerning this, there are two things principally which offer themselves to our consideration. First, The happiness of this state. Secondly, The way and means whereby we may come to partake of this happiness.

First, We will consider the happiness of this state. But what and how great this happiness is, I am not able to represent to you. These things are yet in a great measure within the veil, and it does not now fully "appear what we shall be." The Scriptures have revealed so much in general, concerning the reality and unspeakable felicities of this state, as may satisfy us for the present, and serve to inflame

our desires after it, and to quicken our endeavours for the obtaining of it; as, namely, that it is incomparably beyond any happiness of this world; that it is very great; and that it is eternal: in a word, that it is far above any thing that we can now conceive or imagine.

1. It is incomparably beyond any happiness in this world. It is free from all those sharp and bitter ingredients which do abate and allay the felicities of this life. All the enjoyments of this world, are mixed and uncertain and unsatisfying: nay, so far are they from giving us satisfaction, that the very sweetest of them are satiating and cloying.

None of the comforts of this life are pure and unmixed. There is something of vanity mingled with all our earthly enjoyments, and that causeth vexation of spirit. There is no sensual pleasure but is either purchased by some pain, or attended with it, or ends in it. A great estate is neither to be got without care, nor kept without fear, nor lost without trouble. Dignity and greatness is troublesome almost to all mankind, it is commonly uneasy to them that have it, and it is usually hated and envied by those who have it not. Knowledge, that is one of the best and sweetest pleasures of human life; and yet if we may believe the experience of one, who had as great a share of it, as any of the sons of men ever had, he will tell us, that "this also is vexation of spirit; for in much wisdom there is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." Eccles. i. 17, 18.

Thus it is with all the things of this world, the best of them have a mixture of good and evil, of joy and sorrow in them: but the happiness of the next life is free from all allay and mixture. In the des-

cription of the new Jerusalem, it is said, that "there shall be no more curse, and there shall be no night there;" nothing to embitter our blessings, or obscure our glory. Heaven is the proper region of happiness, there only are pure joys and an unmingled felicity.

Rev. xxii. 3. 5.

But the enjoyments of this world as they are mixed, so they are uncertain. So wavering and inconstant are they, that we can have no security of them: when we think ourselves to have the fastest hold of them, they slip out of our hands, we know not how. For this reason, Solomon very elegantly calls them, things that are not: "why wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not? for riches certainly make to themselves wings, and fly like an eagle towards heaven." So fugitive are they, that after all our endeavours to secure them, they may break loose from us, and in an instant vanish out of our sight. "Riches make to themselves wings, and fly like an eagle," intimating to us, that riches are often accessary to their own ruin. Many times the greatness of a man's estate, and nothing else, hath been the cause of the loss of it, and of taking away the life of the owner thereof. The fairness of some men's fortune hath been a temptation to those who have been more powerful to ravish it from them; thus "riches make to themselves wings." So that he that enjoys the greatest happiness of this world, does still want one happiness more, to secure him for the future, what he possesses for the present. But the happiness of heaven is a steady and constant light, fixed and unchangeable as the fountain from whence it springs, "the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning."

And if the enjoyments of this life were certain, yet they are unsatisfying. This is the vanity of

vanities, that every thing in this world can trouble us, but nothing can give us satisfaction. I know not how it is; but either we, or the things of this world, or both, are so fantastical, that we can neither be well with these things, nor well without them. If we be hungry, we are in pain; and if we eat to the full, we are uneasy. If we be poor we think ourselves miserable; and when we come to be rich we commonly really are so. If we are in a low condition, we fret and murmur; and if we chance to get up, and to be raised to greatness, we are many times farther from contentment than we were before. So that we pursue the happiness of this world just as little children chace birds; when we think that we are come very near it, and have it almost in our hands, it flies farther from us than it was at first.

Nay, so far are the enjoyments of this world from affording us satisfaction, that the sweetest of them are most apt to satiate and cloy us. All the pleasures of this world are so contrived as to yield us very little happiness. If they go off quickly, they signify nothing; and, if they stay long, we are sick of them. After a full draught of any sensual pleasure we presently loath it, and hate it as much after the enjoyment, as we courted it and longed for it in the expectation. But the delights of the other world, as they will give us full satisfaction, so we shall never be weary of them. Every repetition of them will be accompanied with a new pleasure and contentment. In the felicities of heaven these two things shall be reconciled which never met together in any sensual delight, long and full enjoyment, and yet a fresh and perpetual pleasure. As in God's "presence there is fulness of joy," so at his right hand there shall be pleasures for evermore.

2. The happiness of the other life is not only incomparably beyond any happiness of this world (that, it may be, is no great commendation of it) but it is very great in itself. The happiness of heaven is usually in Scripture described to us by such pleasures as are manly and excellent, chaste and intellectual, infinitely more pure and refined than those of sense; and if the Scripture at any time descend to the metaphors of a feast, and a banquet, and a marriage, it is plainly by way of accommodation to our weakness and condescension to our capacities.

But the chief ingredients of this happiness, so far as the Scripture hath thought fit to reveal it to us, are the perfection of our knowledge, and the height of our love, and the perpetual society and friendship of all the blessed inhabitants of those glorious mansions; and the joyful concurrence of all these in cheerful expressions of gratitude, in the incessant praises and admiration of the fountain and author of all this happiness. And what can be more delightful, than to have our understandings entertained with a clear sight of the best and most perfect Being, with the knowledge of all his works, and of the wise designs of his providence here in the world? than to live in the reviving presence of God, and to be continually attending upon him, whose favour is life, and whose glory is much more above that of any of the princes of this world, than the greatest of them is above the poorest worm? The queen of Sheba thought Solomon's servants happy in having the opportunity, by standing continually before him, to hear his wisdom; but, in the other world, it shall be a happiness to Solomon himself,

and to the wisest and greatest persons that ever were in this world, to stand before this great King, to admire his wisdom, and to behold his glory. Not that I imagine the happiness of heaven to consist in a perpetual gazing upon God, and in an idle contemplation of the glories of that place. For as by that blessed sight we shall be infinitely transported, so the Scripture tells us we shall be also transformed into the image of the Divine perfections: "we shall see God, and we shall be like him:" and what greater happiness can there be than to be like the happiest and most perfect Being in the world? Besides, who can tell what employment God may have for us in the next life? We need not doubt but that he, who is happiness itself, and hath promised to make us happy, can easily find out such employments and delights for us in the other world, as will be proper and suitable to that state.

But then, besides the improvement of our knowledge, there shall be the most delightful exercise of love. When we come to heaven we shall enter into the society of the blessed angels, and of "the spirits of just men made perfect;" that is, freed from all those passions and infirmities which do now render the conversation, even of the best men, sometimes troublesome to one another. We shall then meet with all those excellent persons, those brave minds, those innocent and charitable souls, whom we have seen, and heard, and read of in this world. There we shall meet with many of our dear relations and intimate friends, and perhaps with many of our enemies, to whom we shall then be perfectly reconciled, notwithstanding all the warm contests and peevish differences which we had with them in this world, even about matters of religion. For heaven

is a state of perfect love and friendship; there will be nothing but kindness and good-nature there, and all the prudent arts of endearment and wise ways of rendering conversation mutually pleasant to one another. And what greater happiness can be imagined, than to converse freely with so many excellent persons, without any thing of folly or disguise, of jealousy or design upon one another? for then there will be none of those vices and passions, of covetousness and ambition, of envy and hatred, of wrath and peevishness, which do now so much spoil the pleasure and disturb the quiet of mankind. All quarrels and contentions, schisms and divisions, will then be effectually hindered, not by force, but by love, not by compulsion, but by that charity which never fails; and all those controversies in religion, which are now so hotly agitated, will then be finally determined, not as we endeavour to end them now, by canons and decrees, but by a perfect knowledge and convincing light.

And when this blessed society is met together, and thus united by love, they shall all join in gratitude to their great patrons and benefactors, "to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb that was slain, to God even our Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood." And they shall sing everlasting songs of praise to God for all his works of wonder, for the effects of that infinite goodness, and admirable wisdom, and almighty power, which are clearly seen in the creation and government of the world, and all the creatures in it; particularly of his favours to mankind, for the benefit of their beings, for the comfort of their lives, and for all his merciful providences towards them in

this world: but, above all, for the redemption of their souls by the death of his Son, for the free forgiveness of their sins, for the gracious assistance of his holy Spirit, and for conducting them safely through all the snares and dangers, the troubles and temptations of this world, to the secure possession of that glory and happiness, which then they shall be partakers of, and are bound to praise God for to all eternity. This, this shall be the employment of the blessed spirits above, and these are the chief ingredients of our happiness which the Scripture mentions. And if there were no other, as there may be ten thousand more, for any thing that I can tell, yet generous and virtuous minds will easily understand how great a pleasure there is in the improvement of our knowledge, and the exercise of love; and in a grateful and perpetual acknowledgment of the greatest benefits that creatures are capable of receiving.

3. This happiness shall be eternal. And though this be but a circumstance, and do not enter into the nature of our happiness, yet it is so material a one, that all the felicities which heaven affords would be imperfect without it. It would strangely damp and allay all our joys to think that they should sometime have an end. And the greater our happiness were, the greater trouble it would be to us to consider that it must have a period.

It would make a man sorrowful indeed, to think of leaving such vast possessions. Indeed, if the happiness of heaven were such as the joys of this world are, it were fit they should be as short; for, after a little enjoyment, it would cloy us, and we should soon grow weary of it. Being so excellent, it would scarce be a happiness if it were not eternal.

It would embitter the pleasures of heaven, as great as they are, to see an end of them, though it were at never so great a distance; to consider all this vast treasure of happiness would one day be exhausted, and that after so many years were past, we should be as poor and miserable again as we were once in this world. God hath so ordered things, that the vain and empty delights of this world should be temporary and transient, but that the great and substantial pleasures of the other world should be as lasting as they are excellent. For heaven as it is an exceeding, so it is "an eternal weight of glory." And this is that which crowns the joys of heaven, and banishes all fear and trouble from the minds of the blessed. And thus to be secured in the possession of our happiness is an unspeakable addition to it. For that which is eternal, as it shall never terminate, so it can never be diminished; for to be diminished and to decay is to draw nearer to an end, and that which shall never have an end can never come nearer to it.

O vast eternity! how dost thou swallow up our thoughts, and entertain us at once with delight and amazement? This is the very top and highest pitch of our happiness, upon which we may stand secure, and look down with scorn upon all things here below; and how small and inconsiderable do they appear to us, compared with the vast and endless enjoyments of our future state? But, O vain and foolish souls! that are so little concerned for eternity; that, for the trifles of time, and the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, can find in our hearts to forfeit an everlasting felicity. Blessed God! why hast thou prepared such a happiness for those who neither consider it, nor seek after it? why

is such a price put into the hands of fools, who have no heart to make use of it? who fondly choose to gratify their lust rather than to save their souls, and sottishly prefer the temporary enjoyments of sin before a blessed immortality?

4. And lastly, This happiness is far above any thing that we can now conceive or imagine. It is so great, that it cannot now enter into the heart of man. We cannot, from the experience of any of those pleasures and delights which we have been acquainted withal in this world, frame an equal idea and conception of it. So that when we come to heaven, we shall be ready to say of it as the queen of Sheba did of Solomon's wisdom and prosperity, "that half of it hath not been told us;" that the felicities and glories of that state do far exceed all the fame which we have heard of them in this world. For who can say how great a good God is? and how happy he, who is the foundation of happiness, can make those souls that love him, and those whom he loves.

In this imperfect state we are not capable of a full representation of those glories. We cannot now see God and live. A full description of heaven, and of the pleasures of that state, would let in joys upon us too big for our narrow capacities, and too strong for weak mortality to bear. We are now but children, and we speak as children, and we understand and think as children concerning these things; but in the other state we shall grow up to be men, and then we shall put away these childish thoughts; "now we know but in part, but when that which is perfect is come, that which is imperfect shall be done away: now we see through a glass darkly (ἐν αἰνιγματι, in a

1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10, 11.

riddle), but then we shall see face to face; now we know in part, but then we shall know even as also we are known," as the apostle discourseth excellently concerning this very matter.

No sooner shall we enter upon the joys of the other world, but our minds shall be raised to a strength and activity as much above that of the most knowing persons in this world, as the thoughts of the greatest philosopher and wisest man upon earth are above the thoughts of a child or a fool. No man's mind is now so well framed to understand any thing in this world, as our understandings shall then be fitted for the knowledge of God and of the things that belong to that state. In the mean time let us bless God, that he hath revealed so much of this happiness to us as is necessary to excite and encourage us to seek after it.

The second thing to be considered concerning our future happiness, is the way and means whereby we may come to be made partakers of it. And that, in short, is by the constant and sincere endeavours of a holy life, in and through the mercies of God in our Lord Jesus Christ. Christ indeed is the author of our salvation, but obedience is the condition of it; so the apostle tells us, that Christ "is the author of eternal salvation to them that obey him." It is the "grace of God" in the gospel which brings or offers this salvation to us; but then it is by the "denying of ungodliness and worldly lusts," and by living "soberly and righteously and godly in this present world," that we are to "wait for the blessed hope." Our Saviour promises this happiness to the pure in heart: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God;" and elsewhere the Scripture doth ex-

Heb. v. 9.

Tit. ii. 11, 12.

clude all others from any share or portion in this blessedness: so the apostle assures us, that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Heb. xii. 14.

And holiness is not only a condition but a necessary qualification for the happiness of the next life. This is the force of St. John's reasoning: "we shall be like him, for we shall see him." To see God is to be happy; but, unless we be like him, we cannot see him. The sight and presence of God himself would be no happiness to that man who is not like to God in the temper and disposition of his mind. And from hence the apostle infers in the next verse, "every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure." So that if we live wicked lives, if we allow ourselves in the practice of any known sin, we interrupt our hopes of heaven, and render ourselves unfit for eternal life. By this means we defeat all the designs of God's grace and mercy towards us, and salvation itself cannot save us, if we make ourselves incapable of that happiness which God offers. Heaven is in Scripture called "an inheritance among them that are sanctified," and "the inheritance of the saints in light;" so that it is not enough that this inheritance is promised to us, but we must be qualified and prepared for it, and "be made meet to be made partakers of it."

And this life is the time of our preparation for our future state. Our souls will continue for ever what we make them in this world. Such a temper and disposition of mind as a man carries with him out of this life, he shall retain in the next. It is true, indeed, heaven perfects those holy and virtuous dispositions which are begun here; but the other world alters no man as to his main state; he that is filthy will be filthy still; and he that is unright-

eous will be unrighteous still. If we do not in a good degree mortify our lusts and passions here, death will not kill them for us, but we shall carry them with us into the other world. And if God should admit us so qualified into the place of happiness, yet we shall bring that along with us which would infallibly hinder us from being happy. Our sensual inclinations and desires would meet with nothing there that would be suitable to them, and we should be perpetually tormented with those appetites which we brought with us out of this world, because we should find nothing there to gratify them withal. For as the apostle says in another sense, "the kingdom of God is not meats and drinks, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The happiness of heaven consists in such things as a wicked man hath no gust and relish for. So that, if a covetous, or ambitious, or voluptuous man were in heaven, he would be just like the rich man in hell, tormented with a continual thirst, and burnt up in the flames of his own ardent desires; and would not be able, amidst all the plenty and treasures of that place, to find so much as one drop of suitable pleasure and delight to quench and allay that heat. So, likewise, our fierce and unruly passions; if we should carry them with us into the other world, how inconsistent would they be with happiness? They would not only make us miserable ourselves, but be a trouble to all those with whom we should converse. If a man of an envious and malicious, of a peevish and passionate temper, were admitted into the mansions of the blessed, he would not only be unhappy himself, but would disturb the quiet of others, and raise storms even in those calm regions. Vain man! that dreamest of

being happy without any disposition or preparation for it. To be happy, is to enjoy what we desire, and to live with those whom we love. But there is nothing in heaven suitable to the desires and appetites of a wicked man.

All the joys of that place, and delights of that state are purely spiritual, and are only to be relished by those who have purified themselves as God is pure. But if thou be carnal and sensual, what are these things to thee? What happiness would it be to thee, to see God, and to have him always in thy view who was never in all thy thoughts; to be tied to live for ever in his company who is of a quite contrary temper and disposition to thyself, whose presence thou dreadest, and whom whilst thou wast in this world thou couldst never endure to think upon? So that the pleasures of heaven itself could signify no good or happiness to that man who is not so disposed as to take pleasure in them. Heaven is too pure an air for corrupt souls to live and breathe in, and the whole employment and conversation of that place, as it would be unsuitable, so would it also be unacceptable to a sensual and vicious person.

From all this it appears how necessary it is for us to prepare ourselves for this blessed state, by the constant and sincere endeavours of a holy life, by mortifying every lust and inordinate passion in our souls. For, until this be done, we are not meet to be made partakers of the felicities of the other world. And thus I have done with the first thing implied in this phrase—of having our conversation in heaven; viz. the serious thoughts and consideration of heaven; or the happiness of that state, and of the way and means whereby that happiness is to be attained.

II. The having our conversation in heaven does imply likewise the effect which these considerations ought to have upon our hearts and lives: as,

1. To convince us of the vanity of this world. God hath on purpose made this world troublesome and uneasy to us, that there might be no sufficient temptation to reasonable and considerate men, to take them off from the care and thought of their future happiness; that God and heaven might have no rival here below; that there might be nothing in this world that might pretend to our affection or court us with any advantage in comparison of everlasting life and glory.

When we come to die, and eternity shall present itself to our serious and waking thoughts, then things will put on another face, and those things which we valued so much in this life, will then appear to be nothing worth; but those things which we neglected, to be of infinite concernment to us, and worthy to have been the care and endeavour of our whole lives. And if we would consider these things in time, while the opportunities of life and health are before us, we might be convinced at a cheaper rate, and come to be satisfied of the vanity of this world before we despaired of the happiness of the other.

2. To make us very active and industrious to be as good, and to do as much good as we can in this life, that so we may be qualified and disposed for the happiness of the next. Men are usually very industrious for the things of this life, to be rich and great in the world: did we but value heaven half as much as it deserves, we should take infinitely more pains for that. So often as we consider the glories that are above, how does it accuse our sloth,

and condemn our folly, that we are less concerned for our souls, than most men are for their bodies, that we will not labour half so much for an eternal inheritance, as men ordinarily do for these corruptible things?

Let us remember that we are hasting apace to another world, and that our eternal happiness now lies at the stake. And how should it quicken our endeavours, to have such a reward set before us, to have crowns and sceptres in our eyes? would we but often represent to our minds, the glorious things of another world, what fervours should we feel in our hearts? we should be all life and spirit, and wing; and should do God's will, almost with the same readiness and delight, as the angels do, who continually behold the face of their Father. The consideration of heaven, and the firm persuasion of our future happiness, should actuate all the powers of our souls, and be continually inspiring us with a new vigour in the ways of holiness and virtue. How should this thought swell our resolutions, and confirm our purposes of obedience, that if we have our "fruit unto holiness," our end will be everlasting life?

3. To mitigate and lighten the evils and afflictions of this life. It is no great matter how rough the way be, provided we be sure that it leads to happiness. The incomparably greater good of the next life will, to a wise and considerate man, weigh down all the evils of this. And the Scripture tells us that there is no comparison between them. "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." The evils in this life afflict men more or less, according as the soul is

Rom. viii. 18.

fortified with considerations proper to support us under them. When we consider that we have but a little while to be here, that we are upon our journey, travelling towards our heavenly country, where we shall meet with all the delights we can desire, it ought not to trouble us much to endure storms and foul ways, and to want many of those accommodations we might expect at home. This is the common fate of travellers, and we must take things as we find them, and not look to have every thing just to our mind. These difficulties and inconveniences will shortly be over, and after a few days will be quite forgotten, and be to us as if they had never been. And when we are safely landed in our own country, with what pleasure shall we look back upon those rough and boisterous seas which we have escaped? The more troubles we have past through, the kinder usage we shall find when we come to our Father's house. So the apostle tells us, that "our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." When we come to heaven, our happiness shall then be as real as our miseries were here upon earth, and far greater, and more lasting. And what great matter is it, though we suffer awhile in this world, provided we escape the endless and insufferable torments of the next; though we have not our good things in this life, if infinitely greater be reserved for us, and we shall receive them with interest in the other?

Several of the evils and calamities of this life would be insufferable indeed, if there were nothing better to be hoped for hereafter. If this were true, Christians would not only be of all men, but of all creatures, the most miserable. But our religion hath

abundantly assured us to the contrary. And the assurance of this was that which made the primitive Christians to embrace sufferings with so much cheerfulness, "to glory in tribulation, and to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that in heaven they had a better and more enduring substance." The seven brethren, in the history of the Maccabees, upon this persuasion, would not accept deliverance, "that they might obtain a better resurrection." The storm of stones which was poured upon St. Stephen, was no more to him than a common shower, when "he saw the heavens opened, and Jesus (in whose cause he suffered), standing on the right hand of God."

4. To make us sincere in all our professions, words and actions. Did men firmly believe the rewards of another world, their religion would not be only in shew and pretence, but in life and reality, no man would put on a form of godliness, that were destitute of the power of it: we should do nothing for the opinion of others, but all with regard to God and our own consciences; and be as curious of our thoughts and most retired actions, as if we were in an open theatre, and in the presence of the greatest assembly. For in the next life, men shall not be rewarded for what they seemed to be, but for what they really were in this world. Therefore whatever we think, or speak, or do, we should always remember, that the day of revelation is coming, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, when all disguises shall be laid aside, and every one's mask shall be taken off, and all our actions and designs shall be brought upon the public stage, and exposed to the view of men and angels. "There is nothing now hidden, which shall not then be revealed, nor secret which shall not be made known."

5. To arm us against the fears of death. Death is terrible to nature, and the terror of it is infinitely increased by the fearful apprehensions of what may follow it. But the comfortable hopes of a blessed immortality, do strangely relieve the fainting spirits of dying men, and are able to reconcile us to death, and in a great measure to take away the terror of it. I know that the thoughts of death are dismal, even to good men, and we have never more need of comfort and encouragement, than when we are conflicting with this last enemy: and there is no such comfortable consideration to a dying man, as the hopes of a happy eternity. He that looks upon death, only as a passage to glory, may welcome the messengers of it as bringing him the best and most joyful news that ever came to him in his whole life; and no man can stay behind in this world, with half the comfort that this man leaves it.

And now I have done with the two things implied in this phrase, of having our conversation in heaven; viz. the serious thoughts and considerations of heaven, and the effect of these thoughts and considerations upon our hearts and lives.

I crave your patience but a little longer, until I make some reflections upon what hath been delivered, concerning the happiness of good men after this life. I have told you, that it is incomparably beyond any happiness in this world, that it is great in itself, and eternal in its duration, and far above any thing that we can now conceive or imagine. And now, after all this, I am very sensible how much all that I have said comes short of the greatness and dignity of the thing. So that I could almost begin again, and make a new attempt upon this subject. And, indeed, who would not be loth

to be taken off from so delightful an argument? Methinks it is good for us to be here, and to let our minds dwell upon these considerations. We are unworthy of heaven, and unfit to partake of so great a glory, if we cannot take pleasure in the contemplation of those things now, the possession whereof shall be our happiness for ever.

With what joy then should we think of those great and glorious things which God hath prepared for them that love him, of "that inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, which fadeth not away," reserved for us in the heavens? How should we welcome the thoughts of that happy hour, when we shall make our escape out of these prisons, when we shall pass out of this howling wilderness into the promised land; when we shall be removed from all the troubles and temptations of a wicked and ill-natured world; when we shall be past all storms, and secured from all further danger of shipwreck, and shall be safely landed in the regions of bliss and immortality?

O blessed time! When all tears shall be wiped from our eyes, and death and sorrow shall be no more; when mortality shall be swallowed up of life, and we shall enter upon the possession of all that happiness and glory, which God hath promised, and our faith hath believed, and our hopes have raised us to the expectation of; when we shall be eased of all our pains, and resolved of all our doubts, and be purged from all our sins, and be freed from all our fears, and be happy beyond all our hopes, and have all this happiness secured to us beyond the power of time and change: when we shall know God and other things without study, and, love him and one another without measure,

and serve, and praise him without weariness, and obey his will without the least reluctancy; and shall still be more and more delighted in the knowing, and loving, and praising, and obeying of God to all eternity.

How should these thoughts affect our hearts, and what a mighty influence ought they to have upon our lives? The great disadvantage of the arguments fetched from another world, is this—that those things are at a great distance from us, and not sensible to us; and therefore are not apt to affect us so strongly, and to work so powerfully upon us. Now, to make amends for this disadvantage, we should often revive these considerations upon our mind, and inculcate upon ourselves the reality and certainty of these things, together with the infinite weight and importance of them. We should reason thus with ourselves: if good men shall be so unspeakably happy, and consequently wicked men so extremely miserable, in another world; if these things be true, and will one day be found to be so, why should they not be to me as if they were already present? Why should not I be as much afraid to commit any sin, as if hell were naked before me, and I saw the astonishing miseries of the damned? and why should I not be as careful to serve God and keep his commandments, as if heaven were open to my view, and I saw Jesus standing at the right hand of God, with crowns of glory in his hand, ready to be set upon the heads of all those who continue faithful to him?

The lively apprehensions of the nearness of death and eternity are apt to make men's thoughts more quick and piercing, and according as we think ourselves prepared for our future state to transport us

with joy, or to amaze us with horror. For the soul that is fully satisfied of his future bliss, is already entered into heaven, has begun to take possession of glory, and has (as it were) his blessed Saviour in his arms, and may say with old Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." But the thoughts of death must needs be very terrible to that man who is doubtful or despairing of his future condition. It would daunt the stoutest man that ever breathed, to look upon death when he can see nothing but hell beyond it. When the apparition at Endor told Saul, "to morrow, thou and thy sons shall be with me," these words struck him to the heart, so that "he fell down to the ground, and there was no more strength left in him." It is as certain that we shall die, as if an express messenger should come to every one of us from the other world and tell us so. Why should we not then always live as those that must die, and as those that hope to be happy after death? To have these apprehensions vigorous and lively upon our minds, this is to have "our conversation in heaven, from whence also we look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working of that mighty power, whereby he is able even to submit all things to himself."

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